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OCTOBER 10, 1983 Vol. 122 No. 16

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

When TIME first appeared on newsstands in March 1923, not even the brash, energetic 24-year-olds who had co-founded the magazine, Henry R. Luce and Briton Hadden, could have predicted that it would spawn one of the world's largest communications empires. As Time Inc. Editor in Chief Henry Anatole Grunwald has noted, "Not many institutions launched 60 years ago have survived, thrived and become part of folklore."

To mark the magazine's 60th anniversary, TIME this week is bringing out a separate, special issue that recalls the years since 1923, perhaps the most astonishing six decades in history. Now in the mail to subscribers, the issue is the largest ever produced by TIME, with 86 editorial pages. It contains condensed versions of stories that appeared in the magazine, organized into six categories: War and Peace, This Turbulent World, Triumphs of the Spirit, The Wealth of Nations, Art and Its Rewards, and Frontiers of Science.

Senior Writer Otto Friedrich, who supervised the selection and editing of the historic articles, had the formidable task of sifting through more than 3,000 issues of TIME. Some choices were easy: the Crash of '29, the start of World War II, the fiery dawn of the nuclear age over Hiroshima. Others, involving popular trends and celebrities, were less so, if only because there were so many candidates. "Putting the book together was a little like cooking," says Friedrich. "We were always looking for the perfect balance of ingredients."

Researchers Eileen Chiu, Jane Furth, Villette Harris and Elizabeth D. Meyer spent five months helping him find the right words, while Picture Researcher Evelyn Merrin and the Time Inc. Picture Collection staff tracked down thousands of old photographs. As art director for the issue, Tom Bentkowski faced a particularly complex problem: re-creating the typography and design that TIME used through the years. Some 300 format changes were fed into the magazine's computerized typesetting system, more than were required for the complete redesign of TIME in 1976.

Anniversary issue displaying past TIME covers

Assistant Managing Editor Ronald Kriss, who directed the overall project, was struck by how often the magazine zeroed in on the big story. "When you try to pack the whole world into relatively few pages," says Kriss, "you're bound to miss now and again. But over the years, TIME has achieved a remarkable record in sensing early on what would be important not just next week, but a year or ten years or even 60 years later."

John a. Meyer

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Cover: Illustration by Todd Schorr

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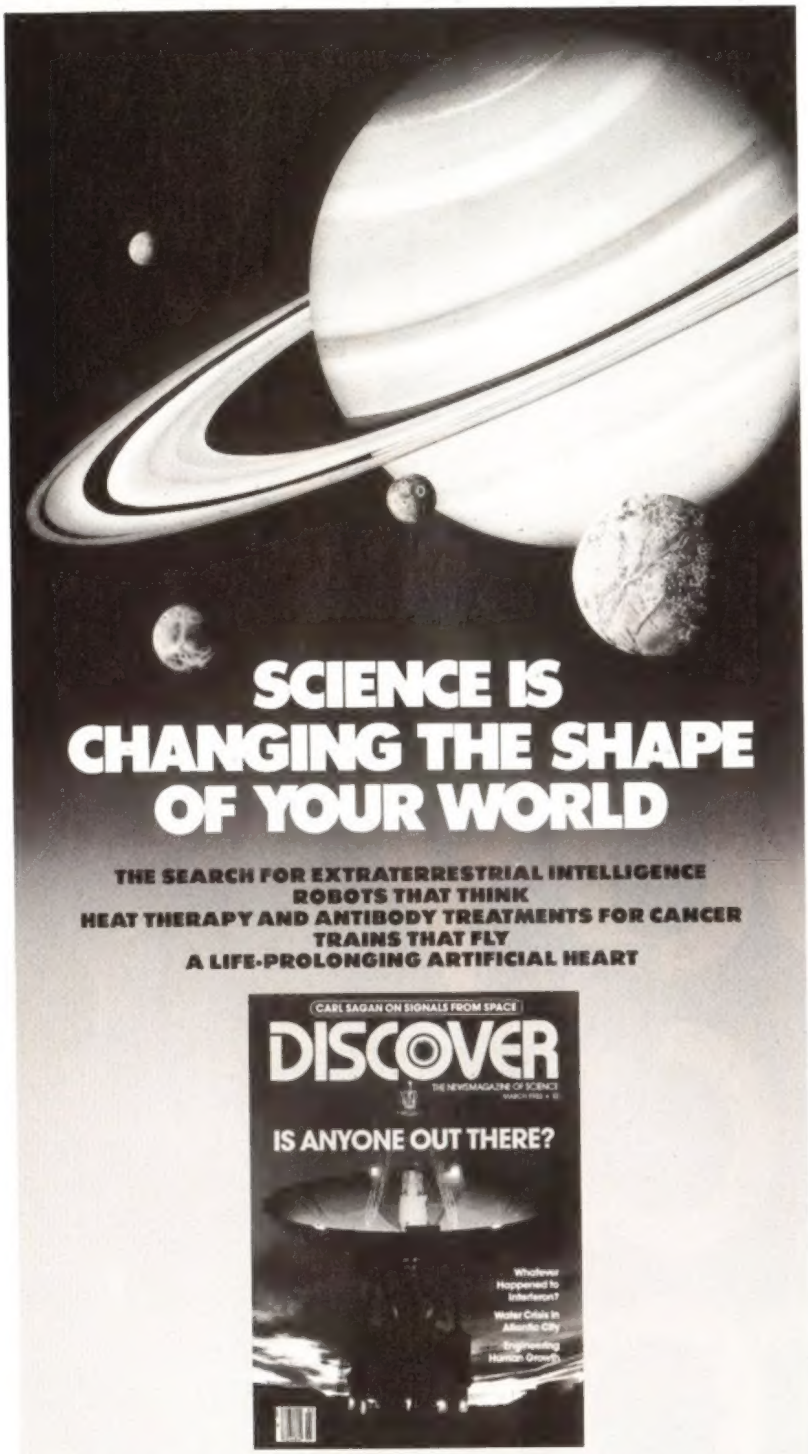

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The Times of London hails America's bestselling Churchill biography:

On the *London Times* book page, reviewer Piers Brendon says that readers of William Manchester's THE LAST LION "will find themselves gradually mesmerized by, and finally addicted to, the immense accumulation of detail." Manchester, Brendon adds, "is dazzled by, and he dazzles us with, Churchill's 'zig-zag streak of lightning on the brain'.... The story—Churchill's glittering progress to 1932—is such a good one, and is told with such unflagging zest."

Reviewers on this side of the Atlantic are equally enthusiastic:

"For a thoroughly absorbing introduction to the subject, one cannot do better than this book." —*Philadelphia Inquirer*

"The book runs to more than 800 pages, and there is not a dull line in it."—*The Atlantic Monthly*

"This is grand reading." —*Chicago Sun-Times*

"Especially rich in historical and social contexts.... THE LAST LION adds a grand dimension." —*Time*

"Such a rich narrative, with such a riveting central figure."
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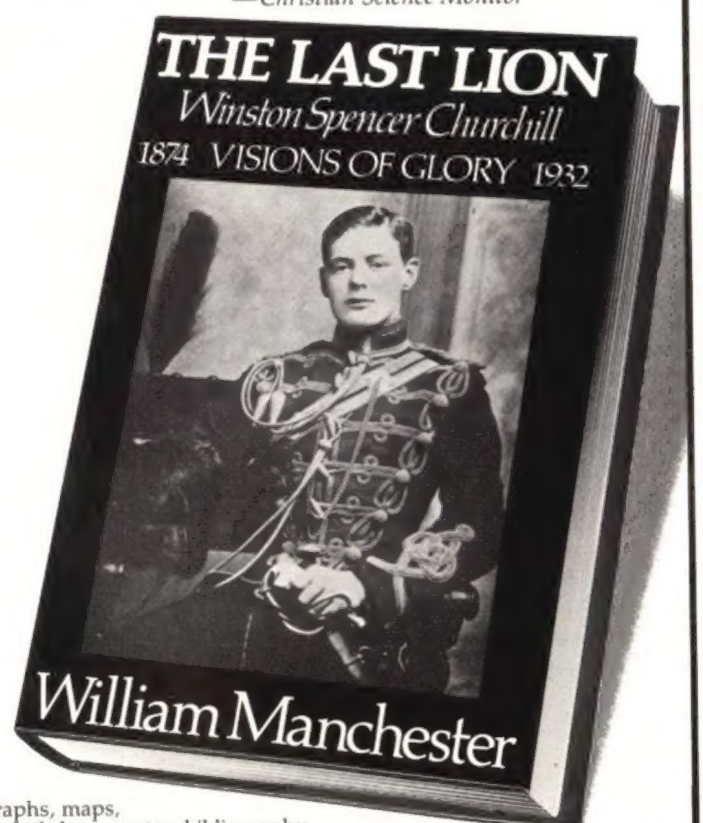

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Letters

Doomed 747

To the Editors:

By refusing to admit their guilt in shooting down a commercial 747 jetliner [Sept. 19], the Soviets have once again passed up an opportunity to show the world that they can be gentlemen who want peace. Instead, they have made themselves out to be murderers.

Christian Dupuis
Montreal

After spending years writing letters against nuclear weapons, I now realize that we must keep up with the Soviets in the arms race or they will annihilate us on the flimsiest excuse. Military strength is the only sensible strategy for the U.S.

Jean A. Robinson-Pownall
Camillus, N.Y.

It took 269 lives to prove President Reagan right about the Soviet Union.

Eric Thuna
Skokie, Ill.

Imagine the outcry if the U.S. shot down a Soviet-bloc airliner. There would be riots abroad and demands for damages. But when the Soviets do it, Europe shrugs and shuffles its feet.

John J. Marvel
Hoyt Lakes, Minn.

The downing of an unarmed airliner by the U.S.S.R. emphasizes the degree of the Soviet paranoia and the folly of our placing provocative first-strike Pershing and cruise missiles on its borders. A situation will be created involving nuclear weapons that will threaten millions of lives. Only by establishing better relations and easing tensions with the U.S.S.R. will we avoid more air tragedies and the ultimate catastrophe, World War III.

Phil Klein
Syracuse

A paranoid nation, like a paranoid person, never admits to anything it is accused of. Instead, it defends and counter-

It'll last longer than a car.

Before you look at what car makers are building today, look at what they built a few years ago. Car makers introduce a new look, a new gadget, a new name. And all too soon—and sometimes not soon enough—they abandon them.

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Take the Rabbit. Since we introduced it in 1975, we've made some 15,000 improvements. And every one of them to make it work better and last longer.

Yet perhaps what's most telling is that when the Rabbit first appeared, there were over 40 new cars in its class. Today, only the Rabbit remains. Volkswagens get better. Cars get obsolete.

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Letters

attacks in order to save face. If you want a country like the Soviet Union to accept responsibility, you have to assume it acted out of innocence. From the beginning, the U.S. should have said that it regarded the shooting down of KAL Flight 007 as an act the Soviets would never knowingly commit, that it was an unfortunate tragedy. This approach would have presented some chance of eliciting an apology and compensation. The line our Government took only fueled the Soviets' paranoia.

Henry T. Close
Plantation, Fla.

It is a pity we cannot send governments to prison for murder.

David A. Colvin
Santa Fe, Argentina

I agree that the Soviet attack on the Korean passenger jet was an atrocity. However, dumping vodka and painting over our red cars are ridiculous acts of protest. The shooting down of the plane was in part a result of the increased tensions between the Soviet Union and the U.S. If relations between the two nations improved, the weapons buildup and covert activities would diminish, thus lessening the chance for more of these tragic incidents.

Thomas Walker
Arcata, Calif.

What is this hullabaloo about the borders of the Soviet Union being sacred? The U.S.S.R. applies a double standard on moral values: one for them and another for other countries. What should the Afghan say about the Soviets' violation of his sacred borders?

Marianne Ridge
Küsnacht, Switzerland

Leathernecks in Lebanon

The presence of the Marines in Lebanon [Sept. 19] exacerbates the tensions there. The U.S. should remove its troops and let the factions settle their age-old scores. Peace might not ensue, but at least the dead will not include Americans.

Glenn DelGrosso
Saratoga Springs, N.Y.

In comparing Lebanon with Viet Nam, I find there are more dissimilarities than similarities. However, one striking resemblance exists. When a limited force with limited authority and a limited objective faces an enemy without those restraints, the mission is doomed.

Kenneth S. Woodman
Richmond, Ind.

Your article explaining the long-standing feud between Christians and Druze leads me to believe that we are wasting the lives of our men by trying to stop a war between neighbors who teach their children to kill each other.

June M. Mudgett
Trinity, Ala.

When I hear the words peace-keeping force, I think of a group of heroic men who are ensuring peace and prosperity in an unstable country. The Marines in Lebanon are not intimidating any of the battling groups. If our troops are going to be peace keepers, they ought to be just that and not targets.

Brian Kimball
Richfield, Utah

Shamir's Image

In your profile of Israel's Yitzhak Shamir [Sept. 12], you mention that he was associated with the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang, militant bands whose activities helped force the British to give up the occupation of Palestine. Your description gives the impression that these two organizations were heroic national liberation movements that freed Palestine from British imperial rule. You fail to mention that these same groups were also responsible for the terrorizing of innocent Arab-Palestinian peasants, which led to the exodus of Palestinians in 1948 and created the refugee problem.

Kaikobad Irani
Cambridge, Mass.

Are you certain you had the correct information on the life of Israel's Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir? Your biographical sketch reads more like the history of Yasser Arafat.

Thomas William Verhoeven
Stuart, Fla.

Marital Rape

In your story "Rape: The Sexual Weapon" [Sept. 5], you reported that while I was a California state senator I protested a state law allowing prosecution for marital rape. You quoted me as saying, "If you can't rape your wife, who can you rape?"

Four years ago, when I was chairperson of the California state senate judiciary committee, I was invited to dinner with three ladies. These ladies were supporting legislation, which was then pending in my committee, that would make marital rape a crime. I told the ladies that I wholeheartedly supported the measure but that the bill would have a difficult time passing the legislature, since there were those in that body with the mentality that believed "If you can't rape your wife, who can you rape?" When the legislation was finally heard on the state senate floor, I not only voted for the law but spoke in favor of its passage.

Bob Wilson
Sacramento, Calif.

Crime Among Marielitos

Your articles describing the lawlessness among the Cuban refugees from Mariel [Sept. 12] show that Jimmy Carter's worst character flaw was his naiveté. President Carter may have meant well by allowing all the Marielitos into our country, but that is no consolation to those who have been victims of their crimes.

Lisa Penz
Atlanta

One way we could deal with the criminals among the Marielitos would be to airlift them to our naval base at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba and lead them out the gate. If these troublesome refugees cannot respect what they have in the U.S., then let Fidel Castro have them back.

Frank V. Puglia
San Diego

I can see America as a melting pot but not as a trash dump for foreign undesirables. Letting in all those criminals and mental patients among the Mariel refugees was Jimmy Carter's biggest mistake.

Douglas Watson
Bolton, Miss.

Bodies and Biceps

The article on the "new Spartans" [Sept. 19] was an excellent portrayal of the current addiction to fitness. Sedentary people have no idea of the mental and physical advantages that come from exercise and body building. To all the fatties out there: Catch us if you can!

Thomas K. Higgerson
North Brunswick, N.J.

As a nursing student, I know that patients tolerate surgery much better if they are in shape. I am also aware of how a fitness program can reduce the stress that comes from studying. Before I started working out 3½ years ago, I suffered pains in my neck, back and legs. Tension and depression interfered with my sleep. Now, if I am feeling down, I just push harder on the Nautilus or kick higher in aerobics. Everyone should be so addicted.

Alice Erskine
San Francisco

The new Spartans are really failed masochists.

Tom Gill
Columbia, Md.

Working for a beer distributor this summer, I was among people who load and unload trucks ten to twelve hours a day. They are the strongest and fittest individuals I have ever known. The true Spartans are not prancing around in designer tights or contorting themselves on weight machines. They are using their muscles to make a living.

Michael Alpert
Marlton, N.J.

Helping Ears

I can understand why it took President Reagan more than 40 years to get a hearing aid [Sept. 19]. For 20 years I have

It's more fun than a car.

A car reflects the driving conditions of where it is engineered: In Japan, highway traffic seldom exceeds 45 mph. In America, our speed limit is 55 mph. But in Germany, the Autobahns have no speed limits. And the country roads have challenging S-curves and hairpin turns. Driving is fun. And the favorite high-performance choice is more than a car. It's a Volkswagen GTI.

Here's why: 0-50 mph in 7.2 seconds. Standing quarter-mile: 17.9 sec at 80 mph. Top speed: 108 mph. Lateral acceleration: 0.78g. Slalom speed: 61.3 mph. Braking: 60 mph to 0 in only 3.5 seconds.

When it comes to this kind of fun, nobody's more serious than the Germans.

The 1984 GTI $8,350.** **It's not a car. It's a Volkswagen.**

Congratulations! It's only Parkinson's Syndrome.

A lot of people couldn't be more wrong about Parkinson's. They think it's a nice, mild little illness that makes old people's hands tremble, but really doesn't do too much harm because it doesn't kill.

Until they get it themselves. Then they begin to understand the incredible terror that can cause them to want to hide from the world and even from their families. And to live with the constant fear that Parkinson's will make you so weak you'll fall victim to heart disease, or any of a dozen other killers.

As you grow older, as our population grows older, Parkinson's threatens to become a national epidemic. The number of reported cases doubled between 1970 and 1980. And yet Parkinson's can be treated. Victims can be rehabilitated. And hopefully a cure can be found before Parkinson's strikes you or someone you love.

Let's get it, before it gets you.

You can help by sending a generous tax-deductible gift and request for more information to:
The National Parkinson Foundation, Bob Hope Road, Miami, Florida 33136
or phone: 1-800-327-4545

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Letters

worn one, always making sure that my hair covered my left ear. The problem is not vanity but the fear of not being accepted by others. I hope that the President's example will encourage others to do the same.

Kristin Steen
San Diego

Shooting Dogs

I wish to protest the indictment of humane societies in the report on the Pentagon's practice of purposefully wounding dogs to give military physicians patients to work on [Aug. 8]. The article states: "Defense Department researchers were planning to pay licensed dealers $80 to $130 for each doomed dog, instead of buying unclaimed dogs from humane societies—which would have put them to death anyway—for as little as $3 to $10 a head."

Private humane societies throughout the nation do not sell dogs to researchers or research institutions. If such animals are purchased, they are procured exclusively from *public* dog pounds or from organizations obliged to release animals for research purposes by reason of their having contracted with municipal or county governments to administer an animal-control program. Those of us who work within the animal-welfare movement detest the necessity of euthanizing unwanted animals. However, in most cases, we regard it as preferable to permitting the animals to become the victims of further trauma, suffering and potential abuse in the hands of researchers.

John A. Hoyt, President
The Humane Society of the U.S.
Washington, D.C.

Invasion of Privacy

I can see no possible reason to justify KSL-TV's demand to air the film of Barney Clark's artificial heart operation [Sept. 12]. To say that the public has a right to see the procedure is ridiculous. It amazes me that the family of a man who gave his life for medical research is being asked by a television station to let millions of people peer into his chest as if he were some kind of sideshow.

Bruce Berg
Mesa, Ariz.

What do they mean "the public right to know"? I do not need to see the inside of Barney Clark's chest to know what accomplishments have been made by this surgery. What the public has the right to know is the facts, not the visual sensationalism that goes with them.

Sue Besch
Mansfield, Ohio

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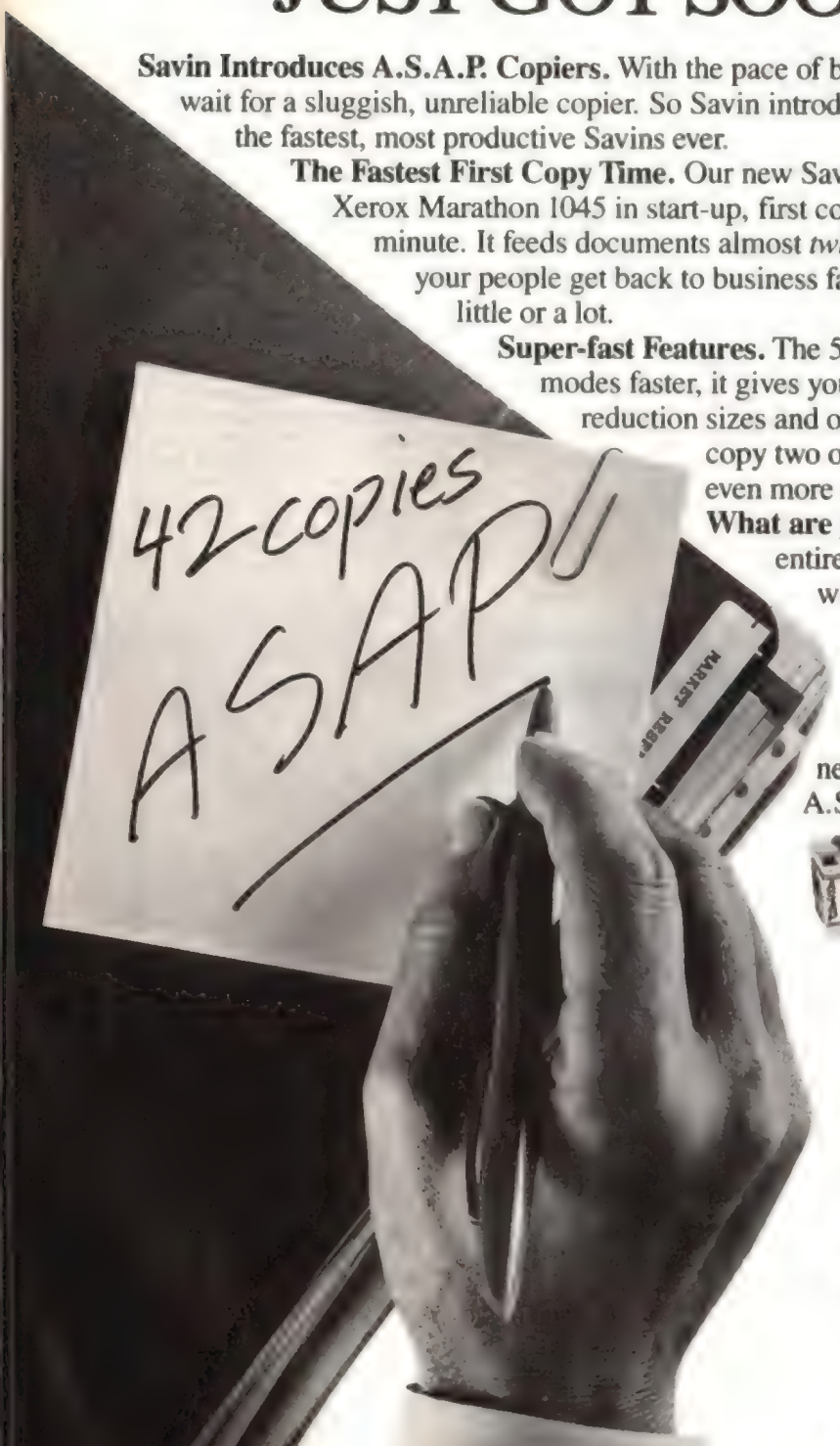

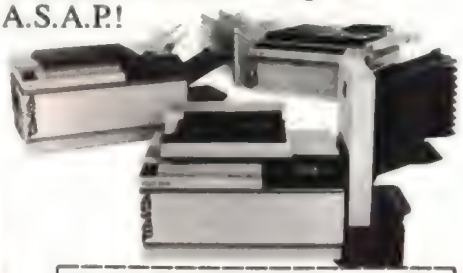

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TIME/ OCTOBER 10, 1983

Three-Front Diplomacy

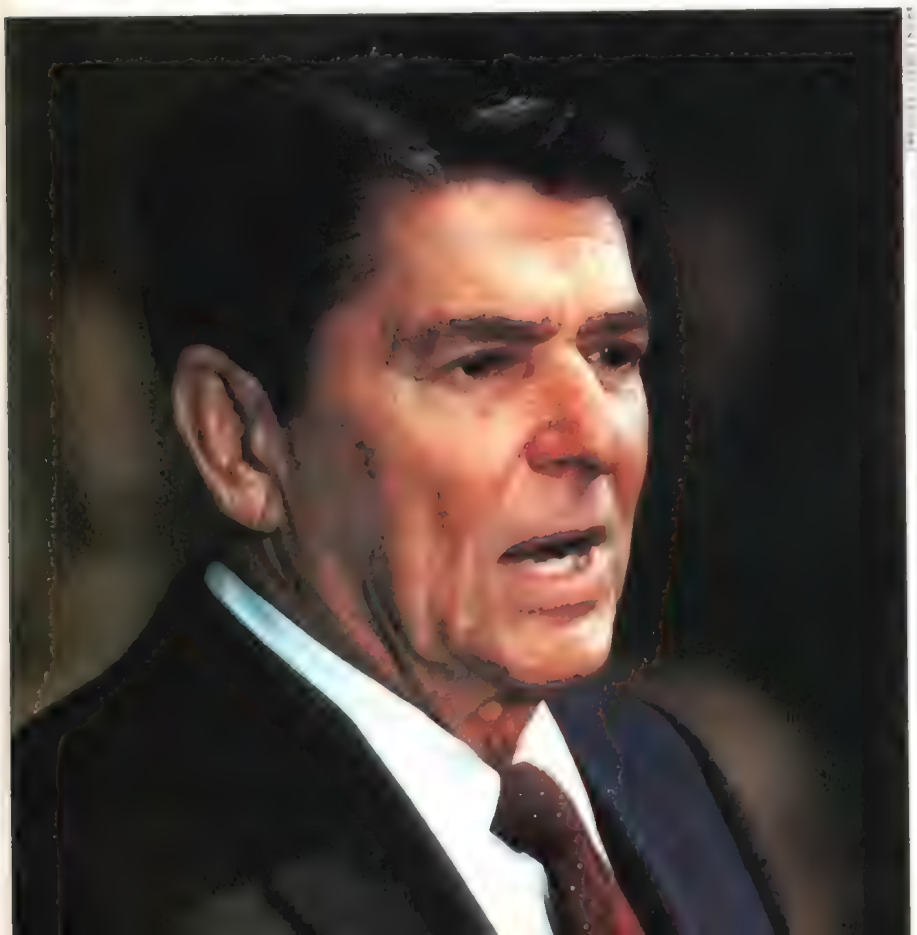
An American offer, a Russian riposte and an election-year ticket to Peking

It began as one of those rare weeks when the Reagan Administration not only had pulled its often disjointed foreign policy act together but was scoring practical successes as well. A U.S.-assisted truce took effect among Lebanon's warring factions. President Reagan, in prime oratorical form, unveiled his new arms control initiatives in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly. The performance earned praise from U.S. allies in Western Europe and put pressure on the Soviet Union to show similar flexibility. On a five-day visit to China, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger revealed that relations between Washington and Peking had unexpectedly improved to the point where summit meetings between Reagan and Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang will be exchanged next year. To top everything off, Reagan persuaded Congress to pass a war-powers resolution ratifying the continued deployment of U.S. Marines in Lebanon for 18 more months (*see* WORLD).

The President's U.N. speech left the next move to Moscow. The U.S.S.R.'s reaction was thoroughly chilling. Some top Administration foreign policy officials had been hoping that Soviet leaders would duly note that Reagan had not sought harsh retaliatory penalties against the U.S.S.R. because of the shooting down of a South Korean airliner by a Soviet Su-15 interceptor, despite all the condemnatory rhetoric out of Washington. And Soviet President Yuri Andropov had remained publicly silent about the air atrocity, leading some in the Administration to wonder whether he might wish to pick up Reagan's cue and offer some fresh arms control proposals of his own. But when Andropov finally did issue a statement last week (he has not appeared in public for more than a month), he used the most caustic language hurled at the U.S. by any Soviet leader since the waning cold war days of the 1960s. Andropov in effect not only said *nyet* to any imminent breakthrough in the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) talks in Europe but raised questions about future negotiations with Reagan on almost any subject

Andropov's blast certainly killed any remaining slim chance that the NATO-backed deployment of U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe will not begin, as scheduled, in December. Once that happens, the Administration's entire arms control philosophy will face an acid test. Either the new U.S. missile presence will pressure the Soviets to bargain more seriously in Geneva, as the Administration has long predicted they would, or the U.S.S.R. will carry out its threats to employ "countermeasures"—and the superpower arms race will be off and running anew.

President Reagan at the U.N.: "The door to an agreement is open"



Reagan had clearly sought to take a statesmanlike stance in his U.N. address. Speaking to a jammed General Assembly, with only the vacant chair of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko testifying mutely to the Washington-Moscow hostility, the President tried to direct world attention beyond the demise of Flight 007, which he mentioned in only a few brief but pointed sentences. Instead, he drew a more upbeat picture of "the dreams" of the U.N. founders, who expected the multinational conclave to "speak with the voice of moral authority" in the world. Reagan then delivered a line that got wide attention in Europe: "A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought."

In that spirit, the President outlined three concessions on Euromissiles that, he said, "address concerns that the Soviets have raised at the bargaining table." First, if the Soviet Union will agree to some global limitation on the number of medium-range missiles, the U.S. will no longer insist on putting all of its missiles permitted under that numerical ceiling into Europe. It would hold at least some in reserve, presumably in the U.S., though with the right, Reagan said vaguely, to deploy them "elsewhere." Second, the U.S. is willing for the first time to consider placing unspecified limits on aircraft that

Chinese Boss Deng Xiaoping with Weinberger

can carry nuclear missiles, as long demanded by the Soviet Union. Finally, if the Soviets will dismantle an agreed-upon number of their 243 SS-20 missiles, each with three warheads now targeted at Western Europe, the U.S. will agree that its countering force in Europe will contain fewer single-warhead Pershing missiles than the 108 now planned. It was the first time that the U.S. explicitly expressed willingness to reduce the planned number of Pershing as well as cruise missiles in Europe. Said Reagan: "The door to an agreement is open. It is time for the Soviet Union to walk through it."

Largely crafted by U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, the 23-minute speech raised no rafters; the applause from the delegates at its end lasted only 40 seconds. When a reporter sought the reaction of Soviet Ambassador Oleg Troyanovsky, who sat impassively next to Gromyko's empty chair, he replied: "You didn't expect me to applaud, did you?" Nevertheless, when Troyanovsky postponed his own scheduled address, many delegates thought that the Soviet leaders might want time to fashion a positive response. "We hope that the Soviet Union will carefully consider its reply," said West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, adding that Reagan had addressed "precisely the issues the Soviets have raised with us privately." His nation, which is scheduled to accept the first U.S. Pershing II deployments in December, is the main target of the superpower propaganda war over the European missiles. Declared Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek: "It would be extremely unwise for the Soviets to react negatively."

But after a tantalizing silence, they did just that. Andropov virtually slammed Reagan's "open door" in the U.S. President's face. Referring directly to Reagan and his Flight 007 rhetoric, Andropov charged that "it is an unattractive sight when, with a view to smearing the Soviet people, leaders of such a country as the U.S. resort to what almost amounts to obscenities, alternating with hypocritical preaching about morals and humanism." The U.S., he declared, was pursuing "a militarist course" and trying to justify "dangerous, inhuman policies" by piling "heaps of slander on the Soviet Union and on socialism."

Though the Soviet leader did not address Reagan's arms proposals in any detail, he dismissed them merely as "prattle about some sort of flexibility." He clung to the long-held but fallacious Soviet assertion that there now exists a nuclear balance in Europe, even though the NATO forces have no land-based nuclear missiles in that regional theater capable of reaching the Soviet Union, while the Soviets could blast Bonn or Paris within 20 minutes with their SS-20s. With evident sarcasm, Andropov argued that "the essence of the so-called new move by the U.S. comes down to a proposal to have the two sides agree on the number of Soviet medium-range missiles to be dismantled and on the number of American missiles to be deployed in Europe in addition to the nuclear potential already possessed by NATO." He was referring to French and British missiles, mainly on submarines, that Soviet negotiators insist must be counted in any INF agreement; London and Paris argue that these weapons are independent defensive weapons, apart from NATO.

It is true that the NATO aim is to reduce Soviet missiles in return for the U.S.'s decreasing its planned introduction of new ones. That insistence is based on the premise that there must be a Western counterbalance to the Europe-targeted SS-20s. So Andropov was not entirely wrong in contending that the tactic of the U.S. in the INF talks has been "to play for time and then start the deployment." One key U.S. arms control official concedes that the INF talks are an exercise "not in arms control but in alliance management." In this U.S. view, the Soviets will not take arms control seriously until NATO demonstrates enough will and unity to deploy its own counter-SS-20 force.

Without question, the Andropov attack was targeted at public opinion in Western Europe. While arguing that "the arms race can and must be terminated," Andropov added a threatening note. He charged that America's European allies are "hostages" of the U.S. and are helping to "implement the ambitious militarist plans of the U.S. Administration." But if the U.S. deployment proceeds, he warned, "the Soviet Union will be able to make an appropriate response and its words and deeds will not be at variance."

While Andropov did not spell out exactly what that "appropriate response" might be, Washington has been rife with speculation that the Soviets might station submarines with nuclear missiles off the U.S. coasts and break off the INF talks. Still, key White House officials, perhaps wishfully, saw Andropov's speech more as an attempt to frighten European populations about the planned U.S. deployment than as an outright rejection of the Reagan proposals. Despite the Soviets' latest

President Andropov: slamming the door shut with cold war rhetoric

psychological offensive, however, the prevailing view among Western Europe's leaders was that the debate over missiles in Europe has run its course and that deployment will proceed.

The simultaneous Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, set to resume this week in Geneva, also seemed likely to remain stalemated. Their prospects not only were shaken by the Andropov blast, but Reagan is having almost as much difficulty negotiating with Congress, his State Department and the Pentagon as with the Soviets. Some key legislators still threaten to vote against final funding for MX-missile deployment in the U.S. unless the Administration takes a more flexible position in START, as it has now done in INF.

The overall mood in Washington and Western Europe was one of deep worry. As Stefano Silvestri of Rome's Institute for Foreign Affairs put it, the tone of Andropov's reply seemed "to suggest the bad temper of Khrushchev at the beginning of the '60s, and that of course brings memories of the Berlin crisis, the Cuban missile crisis and all the rest." Against that gloomy backdrop, it was tempting last week to conclude that as relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated, the Administration was playing its China card, cozying up to the world's most populous nation and the U.S.S.R.'s other main rival. But summit meetings are not arranged in a week. A long series of obstacles had to be overcome *(see box)* before Weinberger could announce that China's Zhao will come to Washington in January and Reagan will go to Peking in April.

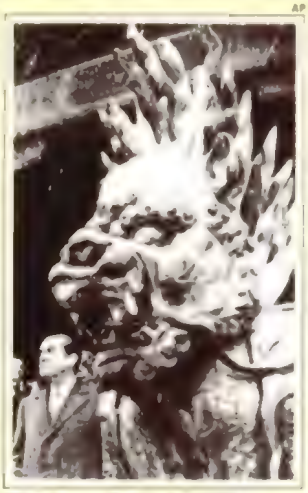
The warming of the relationship had been carefully nurtured by the Administration, which clearly has sought the summit more eagerly than have the Chinese. Reagan can score political points at home next April by appearing statesmanlike, dealing with world problems in distant China, while the Democratic candidates are cutting each other up in primary campaigns back home. Every President since Lyndon Johnson has made a major trip in an election year—and L.B.J., in 1968, did not seek re-election. Reagan's conservative critics already saw the China summits as one more step in what one called "the sellout of Taiwan." In fact, Reagan has been an outspoken champion of Taiwan and ambivalent about China. Last week's summit announcements were therefore a significant move—a decision to resume the pursuit of better Sino-American relations while taking on the delicate task of conducting triangular superpower diplomacy.

No great breakthrough is expected in the China talks. The way may be cleared for U.S. nuclear reactor producers to sell their products to China for power production. New consulates may be opened by each nation, one in Chicago, the other in Chengdu, which is some 950 miles southwest of Peking. Though hardly expected to pass up the opportunity to remind Reagan of "the Taiwan problem," the Chinese will be pleased to greet him: his visit will be yet another twist in the continuing diplomatic but psychological warfare that Peking is waging against Moscow. Declared one White House official last week: "There are no stars in anyone's eyes on either side this time. But both sides see the importance of building the relationship." Indeed, after Andropov's outburst, any easing of friction between the U.S. and China acquired two-edged significance. ***—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett/Washington and Bruce van Voorst/United Nations, with other bureaus***

A Medium Leap Forward?

When Caspar Weinberger met with Deng Xiaoping last week at Peking's Great Hall, the Chinese leader explained that he hears best with his left ear. Would the U.S. Defense Secretary be kind enough to sit on that side? asked Deng. Weinberger obliged, adding felicitously that he hears best with his right ear. "Aha," said Deng with a smile, "we have a good basis for cooperation."

Indeed, for the first time since 1979, the U.S. and China seem genuinely determined to hear each other out. Although Taiwan, as ever, remains a problem, other, less volatile matters are now seen as the basis for building better relations. A decade ago, President Nixon's grandly symbolic visit to China presaged a new era. In 1979, under President Carter, the two countries established formal diplomatic ties. Shortly afterward, in January of 1980, Defense Secretary Harold Brown went to China with word that the U.S. was willing to export to Peking items of high technology, though not weapons. The Chinese were eager to buy and later presented the U.S. with a secret shopping list.



AP

Nixon tours Peking in 1972

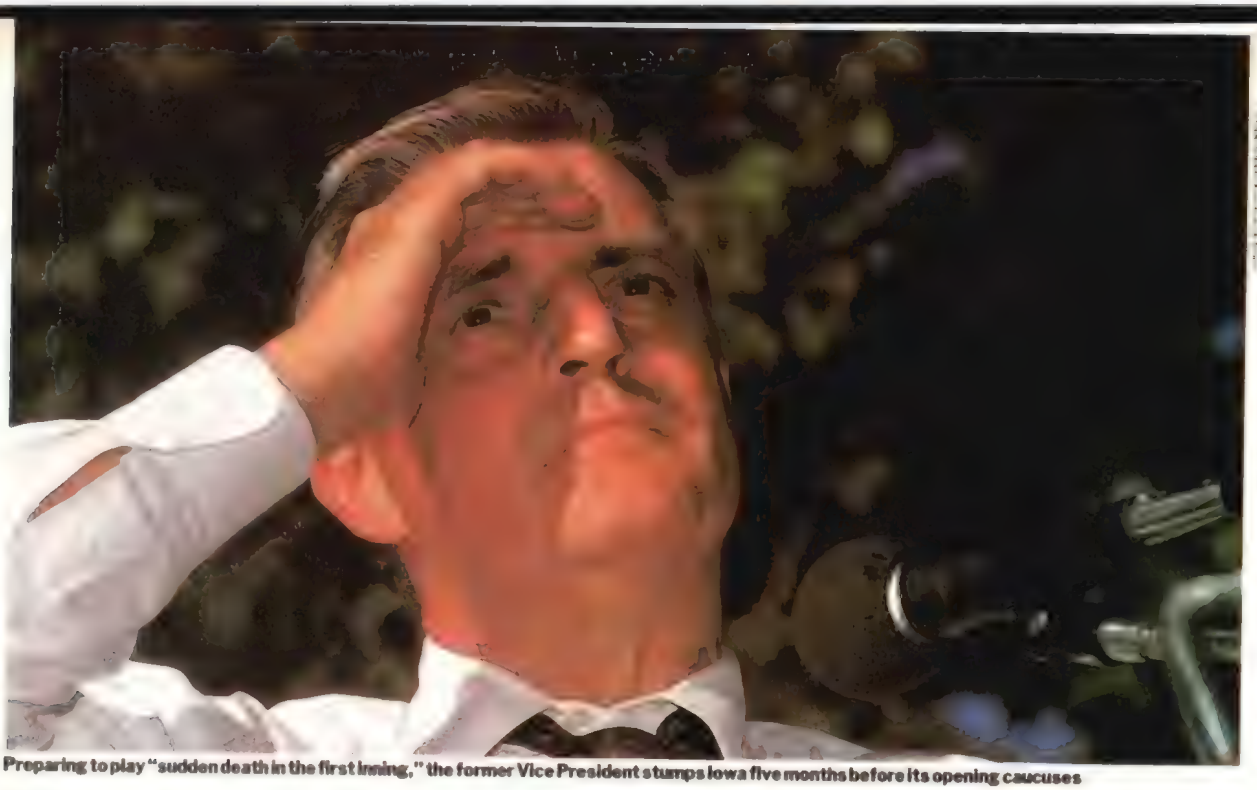
Yet from the moment Reagan was elected, the Chinese were as suspicious of him as he was of them. In 1981 then U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig journeyed to China to try to warm Peking up, but when he returned he was forced to back down on promises he had made because of entrenched ideological and political opposition in Washington. Relations between the two countries chilled even more.

Several seemingly minor imbroglios kept relations icier than ever. Consider the Hukuang Railroad bonds affair, a legal chestnut dating back to securities issued by the imperial Chinese government in 1911. Last year a U.S. district court in Alabama issued a default judgment against China to the tune of $41 million owed on the bonds. When the U.S. granted political asylum to the young Chinese tennis star Hu Na in April, the Chinese bristled and cut back on a whole range of cultural exchange agreements.

These tensions notwithstanding, both sides, it seems, were in fact conducting talks behind closed doors to sound each other out. In February of this year Secretary of State George Shultz, in Peking, found that while the Chinese were posturing publicly about Taiwan, in private they were expending most of their steam over a U.S. promise, first proffered by Haig, to reclassify China's trade status. In May Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige informed the Chinese that Reagan had in fact reclassified China, putting it in the category of a "friendly country with which the U.S. is not allied."

In the spring of 1983 the Administration began drafting new guidelines for "dual use" technology—that is, items that have both military and civilian capabilities. Finally, during Weinberger's five-day trip last week, the Defense Secretary briefed the Chinese on these new guidelines. Peking is still subject to U.S. laws regarding the "end use" of such technology (so that it will not be passed on to other users, like North Korea). But the eventual net effect of the reclassification and the new guidelines should be to allow Peking to import a considerably broader range of products, including computers.

The cordiality apparent during Weinberger's trip does not mean there will be a great leap forward in U.S.-China relations. The Chinese, as Premier Zhao Ziyang told Weinberger, are waiting to see if U.S. words will be "proved by deeds and actions." The U.S. must worry whether Peking is using it mainly as a pawn in its closer-to-home struggle with the U.S.S.R. But for an Administration that early this summer announced plans to sell Taiwan $800 million in arms, relations are perhaps better than could have been anticipated. ■



Preparing to play "sudden death in the first inning," the former Vice President stumps Iowa five months before its opening caucuses

Battling to Take On Reagan

Mondale gets off to a fast start, but it is a long way to '84

Walter Frederick Mondale, front runner among the seven Democrats who would be President, was on a roll last week. The board of directors of the 1.7 million-member National Education Association formally endorsed his candidacy for the party's nomination. So did the general board of the AFL-CIO, and this week leaders representing all 14 million AFL-CIO members are expected to ratify that decision, entering Big Labor, with all its organizing muscle and money, into a Democratic preconvention campaign for the first time ever. On Saturday a caucus of Maine Democratic activists yielded Mondale a satisfying if relatively meaningless (there would have been meaning only if he had lost) 51% victory. Next week Mondale hopes to announce the public support of two prominent Democratic Governors, 100 Senators and Representatives, and 200 or so leading business people

Such a sunburst of triumphs and pledges could lead the proverbial visitor from Mars unacquainted with the intricacies of American politics to assume that the quest for the Democratic nomination in 1984 at San Francisco is all but over. Walter Mondale knows better, but he also knows the rules of the Democratic game have changed since the last time around and that there is an advantage to a fast start. A decisive advantage, he hopes. As he puts it, mixing his sports images: "It's like playing a sudden death inning at the beginning of the game." So many delegates to the convention will be chosen in the early innings—some 45% in primaries and state caucuses between late February and the end of March—that an initial big score could indeed be decisive; an early goose egg may be fatal.

So Mondale, 55, is swinging from the heels at a stage that in earlier campaigns would have been analogous to batting practice. Says he: "By Jan. 1, you have to have the money, the structure, the policies. You have to be ready—bang!" If anything, he is seriously understating the case so far as his own campaign goes. It began "within weeks of Ronald Reagan's Inauguration," in the sarcastic phrase of his chief opponent, Ohio Senator John Glenn, 62, and already is humming with World Series efficiency. Take money, for example: Mondale collected so much so early that by Jan. 1, according to some calculations, he will have raised $9 million and spent $8 million. Bang!

Organization? Bang, again. "Fritz" Mondale's troops even now are deployed throughout the country, wooing the bewilderingly diverse elements of the Democratic coalition: labor, teachers, feminists, blacks, Jews and legions of party officeholders. Long before the first delegates are selected, these efforts already are paying off, as the endorsements last week and this amply demonstrate. Though the teachers and union leaders cannot always deliver the votes of their followers, the endorsements will certainly mean more volunteers and telephone banks for the Mondale campaign, not to mention the ballots of many N.E.A. and AFL-CIO officials who will be delegates in San Francisco. Three years ago the N.E.A. alone supplied about 15% of Jimmy Carter's delegate total.

The politicians' endorsements Mondale is able to unveil next week will be far more important in this campaign than in those of the 1970s, because under new party rules that Mondale backers had a hand in writing, 14% of the convention votes will be reserved for elected officials and other Democratic leaders to be chosen independently of the primary and caucus processes *(see box)*. While no candidate can collect binding pledges from this

AS MAINE GOES . . .

bloc, the endorsements expected in the next few days indicate that it may be filled with Mondale supporters.

Almost five months before the first caucuses in Iowa, in fact, the question already is being asked within the party: Can Mondale be stopped? A tentative answer: Of course, but only with some difficulty, possibly some luck and probably only by one other candidate, Space Hero Glenn. Late in starting, only adequately financed and poorly staffed, Glenn nonetheless projects an aura of independence and old-fashioned virtue that is bringing him up fast in the polls. A new public opinion survey for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White Inc. *(see following story)* shows him only two percentage points behind Mondale and well ahead of the rest of the field. He is the only Democrat who has held a narrow but consistent lead over Reagan when they are pitted against each other in the polls (Mondale has been up and down), rousing the interest of the many party voters who above all want their candidate to be a winner. And Glenn is the only other candidate who might benefit from that front-loaded delegate-selection schedule. Several of the earliest primaries and caucuses come in such Southern states as Alabama, Georgia, Florida and Mississippi, where Mondale's liberalism turns white voters off and Glenn's patriotic appeal is powerful. The five other avowed contenders so far have not demonstrated enough appeal to do much more than survive that brutal opening round—if they are able to do that.

Glenn addressing a Democratic meeting in Atlantic City, N.J.

Predictions, of course, are always hazardous, especially at such an early stage among Democrats. For all of Mondale's fast-starting flash and Glenn's quickening struggle to catch up, few rank-and-file Democrats are even thinking seriously about the nomination yet. Apathy, engendered partly by doubt that anyone can beat President Reagan, is surprisingly widespread even among party pros. Says one party veteran: "There's little interest by our young people, who do the scut work of campaigns, and there's little interest by our politicians, who mastermind the caucuses. These candidates of ours don't excite anybody."

Once delegate selection begins, primary voters are so notoriously volatile that being the front runner often has held more peril than promise. It is true that apart from a brief stumble in Iowa, Reagan in 1980 kept the lead from earliest speculation to final convention ballot. But otherwise the list of men thought to be leading in the pre-season reads like a roll call of blasted hopes: George Romney, Edmund Muskie, Scoop Jackson, Ted Kennedy. As they discovered, the front runner has to win almost everywhere to maintain his aura of invincibility. Even a small slip in an unimportant early contest can start a dreaded loss of that fickle prize-above-prizes in modern politics, momentum.

Current case in point: last week's Maine straw poll. Such polls select no convention delegates and are not even a guide to voter sentiment, since they are often taken at meetings of the party faithful; the one in thinly populated Maine should have been especially meaningless. But after California Senator Alan Cranston packed a June Wisconsin caucus and won a straw poll there, Mondale vowed to tolerate no more such upsets; his troops hit Maine like Eisenhower's armies assaulting the Normandy beaches. Fifteen paid Mondale workers and 35 full-time volunteers canvassed the state's two congressional districts for 2½ months. Mondale himself stumped for ten days. According to rivals, he spent $200,000, or more than $100 for each of the 1,849 party pros who cast straw-poll ballots at the caucus in Augusta. And all that for a contest in which Glenn made a token effort. Mondale's chief opposition came from Cranston and South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings, who were desperate for a victory that might win some press attention. Results: Mondale 51%, Cranston 29%, Hollings 11%, Glenn 6%. So Mondale won—what? Little more than a chance to crow and privately sigh with relief.

Mondale has some advantages that previous front runners did not enjoy. In 1984 there will be no opportunity for a little-known candidate to build momentum gradually, as George McGovern did in 1972 and Jimmy Carter did in 1976. The early bunching of primaries and caucuses puts a higher than usual premium on precisely the factors that are Mondale's strengths: money, organization, a well-known name and a sharply defined appeal to party loyalists. Those strengths are so formidable, in fact, that it will be difficult for Glenn to score a knockout, even if he wins the early rounds. By the same token, Mondale will be hard pressed to K.O. Glenn, whose hero status gives him a staying power unavailable to most ordinary politicians. So much for the sudden-death first-inning theory.

Through the early half of this year, Mondale had raised roughly $5 million, just about twice as much as Glenn. True, Mondale's expenses are higher—for example, he had to stage that extravagant sideshow in Maine—and Glenn currently is about matching him in fund raising. But as far back as the beginning of 1982, Mondale had a computerized list of 25,000 people around the country who could be tapped for small contributions by direct-mail solicitation. Glenn's aides are only now putting together a similar list.

Mondale has the best organization money can buy. Concedes Glenn's press secretary, Greg Schneiders: "If we had a choice between our organization or Mondale's, we'd take his." Mon-

Mondale winning teachers' support in Washington, visiting machine shop in Rochester, chatting in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

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dale and his aides usually fly first class; press secretaries and other campaign assistants tend to him in relays. On a campaign swing to Maine, Chivas Regal Scotch flowed and the sandwiches were lobster.

Iowa's first-in-the-nation caucuses, and New Hampshire's earliest-of-all primary give those states weight way out of proportion to the number of delegates they choose. In both places, Mondale's aides hunch over smart new computers, while Glenn's operatives scribble on yellow legal pads. This week Mondale will open six field offices throughout Iowa; no other candidate has an office outside Des Moines.

Like another former Vice President, Richard Nixon in 1968, Mondale is reaping the reward of years of faithful speechmaking at rubber-chicken dinners for party candidates throughout the country. Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas, a leading liberal, made a splash in June by endorsing Glenn as the more electable candidate. Shortly before, in Michigan, a state with more delegates, Mondale quietly signed up 139 elected Democratic officials, including Governor James Blanchard and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. In Pennsylvania, which has a potentially important April primary, Mondale can count on so much help from the regular Democratic organization that he has not bothered to put together one of his own. Pittsburgh Mayor Richard Caliguiri is grateful for federal cash that Mondale steered to the city when he was Jimmy Carter's Vice President, and Mondale has raised $50,000 for Wilson Goode, who is likely to be elected mayor of Philadelphia next month. Unlike some other black leaders, who are poised to support the Rev. Jesse Jackson if he declares his candidacy, Goode probably will be with Mondale all the way.

DIANA WALKER

A front runner must always shake hands, even from a Chicago phone booth

On the hustings, Mondale presents himself as the Compleat Democrat "who cares" about all the causes of all the party's various constituencies. His game plan is to appeal unashamedly to interest groups by plugging the issues each holds dear, hoping to weld them into a majority coalition. An incomplete list of the promises made in a single speech in Rochester, last week: for labor, to "put all Americans back to work"; for teachers, to "lead a renaissance in American education"; for business, to force foreign competitors to "open their markets to us as much as we've opened ours to them"; for hawks, to use military might to keep the peace and project American moral authority around the world; for women, to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; for the elderly and sick, to put a lid on hospital costs; for blacks and minorities, to crack down on civil rights violators. Seeking to increase his already strong support among Jewish leaders, Mondale had earlier asserted, contrary to his old boss Carter, that Israeli settlements in the West Bank are legal. Glenn tried to sound equally pro-Israel with a speech repudiating "evenhandedness" in the Middle East.

Just how Mondale would fulfill his pledges is usually left vague, but there is one clue: when asked if he would favor this or that new federal program, he almost invariably agrees. A new Civilian Conservation Corps? Yes. A national bottle bill? Sure. A Peace Academy? Why not?

This very strategy, however, is simultaneously Mondale's greatest weakness. It opens him to the charge that he has sold himself piece by piece to special-interest groups, to the point at which he can no longer say no to any of their demands. "It's not that he likes labor," says one Democratic Senate aide, "it's that he's captive of labor." Mondale indignantly replies that there is nothing so "special" about the groups he courts. Women, blacks, labor and the elderly, he says, are a majority of all people in the country. But the charge clearly has hurt. Says one Democratic Senator: "The special-interest rap is the Sword of Damocles hanging over Mondale's head."

Long range, some Democrats fear that Mondale would be too beholden to interest groups to govern effectively as President. More immediately, they fear that he is setting himself up as the old-fashioned, free-spending, solve-every-problem-with-a-new-Government-program liberal that Ronald Reagan eats for breakfast. Talking to the party faithful in Maine, Mondale was asked at almost every stop if he could win. Clearly nettled, he ended one talk with this line: "And if nominated, I can be elected."

Mondale's weakness plays directly into Glenn's strength: an appeal that cuts across class and interest-group lines, based on his days as an astronaut, which will be celebrated again in the upcoming movie of Tom Wolfe's *The Right Stuff*. Crowds pack around to stare at the first American to orbit the earth, fondly remembering a time when the nation seemed more united and the future more full of hope. One telling incident: when New York Governor Mario Cuomo played host to a Democratic forum at which Glenn spoke, Cuomo's secretary begged the Governor to get her Glenn's autograph.

Glenn plays this patriotic feeling for all it is worth, and perhaps more. Rain streaming down his face at an outdoor rally in Birmingham, he recited an expanded version of the Pledge of Allegiance: " 'One nation, under God.' It doesn't say North or South or East or West . . . 'Under God.' It doesn't say under a despot or a monarch or a Politburo." Reporters noted that the wording was taken almost verbatim from an old speech by, of all people, Mondale's mentor, Hubert Humphrey, but the crowd was thrilled. Face flushed with excitement, Hollis Hill, a Birmingham chemist, exclaimed: "He appeals to everything—the American flag, apple pie!"

Politically, Glenn presents himself as an independent attuned to the centrist mood of the country and unafraid to ask for sacrifices as well as make promises. For example, he stresses the need for big tax increases to reduce budget deficits. "I don't like to say it in the middle of a political campaign, but it's a fact," he says. "We've got to face up to it." Mondale speaks of raising taxes too, but with a very different political spin: he says the rich were unduly favored by Reagan's tax cuts, and pledges to make them pay their "fair share."

Glenn has talked so little about issues, however, that many hero worshipers confess they do not know where he stands. Advisers concede he must spell out a policy if he is to convert adulation into votes, and are feverishly writing position papers. He has a skilled media man in David Sawyer, who plans a heavy schedule of TV spots after Jan. 1.

One problem in publicizing Glenn's positions is that some of his Senate votes, while defensible and perhaps appealing to the political center, grate on the liberals who turn out heavily in Democratic primaries and caucuses. Mondale has been calling attention to Glenn's vote last summer to produce a more sophisticated type of nerve-gas bomb, which is anathema to

The Early Form

Oh, those Democrats. For the fourth time in 15 years, they have rewritten their delegate selection rules. The party's Commission on Presidential Nomination, chaired by North Carolina Governor James Hunt, fashioned a calendar that is front-heavy with events. It also set aside 561 of the convention's 3,931 delegate seats for party officials and elected officeholders. Herewith a brief Baedeker to the primary season, as things look now. (C stands for caucus; P is for primary; numbers indicate delegate totals.)

Feb. 27	Iowa[1]	C	58	Mondale, from neighboring Minnesota, is strong, but a high turnout could boost Glenn.
March 4	Maine[2]	C	27	By staying out of last week's straw poll, Glenn hurt his chances when it really counts.
March 6	New Hampshire[3]	P	22	Mondale has money, organization and the nod from party pros; Glenn is scrambling.
March 10	Wyoming	C	15	No major endorsements so far, but a powerful teachers' lobby could help Mondale.
March 13	Massachusetts	P	116	Still considered Mondale country, but Glenn's fortunes are rising.
	Alabama	P	62	Jesse Jackson could siphon off Mondale's black support, locking up the South for Glenn.
	Florida	P	143	If former Gov. Reubin Askew loses in his home state, he must wait until '88.
	Georgia	P	84	To rally the Confederacy, Mondale made a publicized call on Jimmy Carter.
	Oklahoma	C	53	It's Sooner rather than later for Glenn in the conservative state.
	Washington	C	70	Mondale won a September straw poll, but Glenn is aiming for a Super Tuesday upset.
	Rhode Island	P	27	Gov. Joseph Garrahy's support and a strong labor base tilt votes toward Mondale.
	Democrats Abroad	P	5	Jesse Jackson raised G.I. registration during a tour of Europe.
	Hawaii	C	27	With Gov. George Ariyoshi and Sen. Daniel Inouye behind him, Mondale appears solid.
	Nevada	C	20	Downstate Mormons and right-to-work Democrats should make Glenn a winner.
March 14	Delaware	C	18	Field thins as candidates without 10% of vote in successive contests lose matching funds.
March 14-28	North Dakota	C	18	By now the likely nominee may be in sight.
March 15	Alaska	C[4]	14	Labor and teachers give Mondale an edge; military retirees back Glenn.
March 17	Mississippi	C	43	Jackson would run strong among blacks, who account for 45% of registered Democrats.
	Latin America	C	5	
	South Carolina	C	48	An odds-on bet for home-grown Ernest Hollings if he is still in the race.
	Arkansas	C	42	Caucus favors Mondale's well-oiled campaign, but Glenn's centrist views get raves.
	Michigan	C	155	Big Labor makes this state solid for Mondale.
	Kentucky	C	63	Mondale is too liberal for the Bluegrass State; a trot to victory for Ohio Neighbor Glenn.
March 18	Puerto Rico	P	53	Statehood supporters lean toward Mondale
March 20	Illinois	P	194	Glenn fares well downstate; Mondale courts the Chicago machine.
	Minnesota	C	86	A laugher for Native Son Mondale.
March 24	Kansas	C	44	Farmers are still rankled by the Carter-Mondale grain embargo.
March 24-26	Virginia	C	78	Party officials grumble that Mondale has written off their Commonwealth.
March 25	Montana	C	25	Glenn hopes to orbit in Big Sky country.
March 27	Connecticut	P	60	A typically low turnout would bolster party apparatus, auguring well for Mondale.
April 3	New York	P	285	The endorsement of popular Gov. Mario Cuomo could be pivotal.
April 7	Wisconsin	C	89	Cranston won June straw poll, but teachers and labor back Mondale.
	Louisiana	P	68	Bets are off until November gubernatorial race when state party could be reorganized.
April 14	Arizona	C	39	State Democrats are pushing Favorite Son Mo Udall.
April 16	Utah	C	27	Glenn impressed moderate Democrats when he visited in May.
April 17	Missouri	C	86	Mondale is strong in St. Louis and Kansas City, while Glenn appeals in rural areas.
Mid-April	Guam	C	7	The dates for these territorial contests are not firm.
	American Samoa	C	6	
April 24	Vermont[5]	C	17	Only Hart has visited, but it is a Glenn-Mondale race, with the edge to Mondale.
	Pennsylvania[6]	P	195	If nomination is not yet cinched, this toss-up state could prove decisive.
May 1	District of Columbia	P	19	Jackson could be formidable in the predominantly black capital.
	Tennessee	P	76	Potent teachers' lobby could give Mondale a boost.
May 5	Texas	C	200	Ex-Houstonian Glenn appeals to Lone Star conservatives, Mondale to party regulars.
May 7	Colorado	C	51	If Hart has bowed out, Glenn claims favorite-son status: he owns a home in Vail.
May 8	Indiana	P	88	Next door to Ohio, rock-ribbed Hoosiers think Glenn has the right stuff.
	North Carolina	P	88	Glenn has better organization and Mondale more money in Gov. Hunt's home state.
	Maryland	P	74	Mondale is the choice of party heavyweights, but Glenn has grass-roots clout.
	Ohio	P	175	Glenn's home state could come too late to do him much good.
May 15	Nebraska	P	30	Conservative Cornhuskers associate Mondale with the grain embargo.
	Oregon	P	50	Mondale is better organized, but Glenn attracts the motherhood and apple pie vote.
May 24	Idaho	C	22	Former Gov. Cecil Andrus is expected to deliver party faithful for Mondale.
June 2	Virgin Islands	C	6	With Islands' large black population, Mondale could lose if Jackson runs.
June 5	California	P	345	The largest may be too late for Native Son Cranston, and Mondale could benefit.
	New Jersey	P	122	Liberal Democrats boost Mondale, but a Jackson bid may cost him 100,000 black votes.
	New Mexico	P	28	Mondale and Cranston have efficient campaigns, with Hispanics giving Mondale the lead.
	South Dakota	P	19	Native George McGovern expected to run full delegate slate, but may not win.
	West Virginia	P	44	By this time, the nominee could be polishing his convention speech.

[1]Iowa caucus may be moved up to Feb. 20. [2]Maine and Wyoming caucus dates have been rejected by the national party. [3]New Hampshire primary may be advanced to Feb. 28. [4]Alaska delegate selection process has not yet been decided; it could be a primary. [5]Vermont will also hold a nonbinding primary on March 6. [6]Pennsylvania primary date could be changed to April 10

many voters worried about the arms race. Glenn thought that new bombs would be less subject to accidental leakage than the outdated weapons now in the U.S. arsenal, a stand illustrative of his penchant to focus on narrow details of issues. One gag making the rounds is that while some people cannot see the forest for the trees, Glenn cannot even see the trees; his vision discerns only branches and twigs.

Glenn's outstanding campaign weakness, however, is the mirror image of Mondale's strength: organization. Glenn's staff is universally regarded as inadequate, and its internal squabbles are becoming visible to outsiders. In so crucial and early a state as New Hampshire, Glenn's aides not only are outnumbered by Mondale's but have done an ineffective job of scheduling their candidate's appearances. Complains one party insider: "Glenn comes up here, but he is almost invisible." Glenn's own New Hampshire coordinator, Rick Jenkinson, concedes, "If the primary were held now, we would certainly lose." The primary, of course, will not be held for another five months; in New Hampshire and elsewhere, Glenn still has time to organize, but that time is getting short.

The other candidates are reduced to hoping that either Mondale or Glenn falters badly in the early primaries and caucuses; if one of the dark horses has run respectably, he could then emerge as a plausible alternative to the leader. It seems like a slender hope: they are more likely to run afoul of a little-noticed election law under which a candidate who fails to win at least 10% of the vote in two consecutive primaries is cut off from federal matching funds 30 days later. He can requalify only by taking 20% of the vote in some subsequent primary. With primaries coming so rapidly in March, the law could close down some campaigns in a hurry, or shut shakily financed candidates out of vital contests that they dare not enter for fear of getting less than 10%.

Cranston, 69, has a surprisingly strong organization and a grind-it-out campaign style. "He's like a turtle," says admiring Iowa Democratic Chairman Dave Nagle. "You turn away, then turn back and see he's moved six inches." Cranston's unequivocal support for a freeze on nuclear weapons has made him popular with peace groups, but it has also created the impression that he is running a one-issue campaign. Moreover, it is an issue that lost some of its force when the Soviets shot down the Korean jetliner.

Hollings, 61, gets off barbed one-liners (sample: Glenn "is trying to win by waving, but if the American people want a hand-waver, Reagan will win") and has a reputation in Washington as an intelligent and effective Senator; the rest of the nation seems unaware of it. Colorado Senator Gary Hart, 45, discusses issues thoughtfully but is short of money and has a weak organization; worse, he strikes some voters as arrogant. Former Florida Governor Reubin Askew, 55, might win the March 13 primary in his delegate-rich home state; he complains bitterly that he cannot get the press to pay attention to him anywhere else. George McGovern, 61, seems to be running more to win some attention for his blunt views ("Let's get out of Central America. Bring the Marines out of that religious war in Lebanon") than in any hope that Democrats will forget the disaster he led the party to in 1972.

Paradoxically, the candidate other than Glenn who worries the Mondale forces most is the one who is not yet formally in the race: Jesse Jackson, 42. The new Yankelovich survey put Jackson in fourth place with 5% of the vote. An August sounding by Atlanta's Darden Research Corp. showed 7.4% of the Democratic and independent respondents in nine Southern states choosing Jackson; nearly three-fifths of them would vote for Mondale if Jackson does not run. Glenn might win several of those states anyway, but to Pollster Claibourne Darden the meaning of his figures is clear: "If Jackson's in, Mondale's out" in the South.

For all that, there is one group of expert if not exactly impartial observers who are convinced that Mondale will win the nomination: Reagan's White House aides. It is not a prospect that displeases them, for most believe that Glenn would be more difficult to defeat because of his appeal to the all-important political center. "If Glenn is the candidate, Reagan won't have exclusive rights to motherhood and apple pie," says one Republican political consultant.

Reagan Pollster Richard Wirthlin lately has been insisting that Mondale would be a tough opponent too, because of his following among traditional Democratic groups, such as union members and Jewish voters, who defected to Reagan in large numbers in 1980. In addition, while blacks are likely to vote against Reagan in any case, a Mondale candidacy might bring more of them to the polls than a Glenn campaign would. Wirthlin's talk, however, seems at least partly designed to guard against Republican overconfidence and avoid having the White House give Glenn's candidacy a backhand boost.

Whichever Democrat wins, he will face a hard campaign. Much depends, of course, on the state of the economy, the climate in foreign relations and other imponderable factors. But Reagan's standing in the polls has been rising with the economic recovery, and he daunts Democratic pros more than any other Republican since Eisenhower. Whichever Democrat survives the nine innings of the primary season may find himself pitching next season to the Republicans' best hitter, probably with the bases loaded. Getting there may be half the fun. —*By George J. Church. Reported by Christopher Ogden/Chicago, Evan Thomas/Washington and Jack E. White/New York*

Capitol Primary

After the iron-fisted Chicago convention in 1968, reform-minded Democrats vowed to get the bosses and the smoke-filled rooms out of politics. By the 1980 Democratic National Convention in New York City, they had almost succeeded in pushing the pros out. Of the 3,331 delegates in Madison Square Garden, only 309—a mere 9%—were party officials and Democratic officeholders. To give party stalwarts a bigger role in 1984, the Democratic National Committee adopted new rules that will bring to the San Francisco convention at least 191 Congressmen and Senators and 370 other party and elected officials. Says William Sweeney, deputy national Democratic chairman: "You've got to have that layer of party leadership, as well as the people who govern."

A member of Congress has three ways to become a voting delegate. As in years past, he can run on a candidate's slate, like any other would-be delegate in his state. He can also be appointed to his state's contingent: the state delegations have been expanded so that there are now 10% more places, all of which are to be filled by party or elected officials pledged to various candidates. Or he can be elected, as an unpledged delegate, by his colleagues on Capitol Hill.

The House and Senate Democratic caucuses will oversee this unprecedented election of delegates from Congress. The House Caucus, which may select its allotted 164 conventiongoers as early as Jan. 18, has adopted a complex election process. Two-thirds of the delegates will be nominated by twelve subcaucuses of Democratic backbenchers organized by geographic region; the remaining third will be put up by the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, chaired by House Speaker Tip O'Neill. If a would-be delegate is passed over, he can put his candidacy before the House Democratic Caucus by persuading five colleagues to sign a nominating petition. Such candidates will be long shots, however, since the House Caucus is expected simply to ratify the nominations passed along by the twelve subcaucuses and the steering committee. The Senate Caucus, which chooses 27 delegates, has not yet decided on its election procedures.

Because the Capitol Hill delegation will technically be unpledged, the candidates are taking the election seriously. Comments Glenn Delegate Counter Michael Colopy: "It is the first and the biggest primary."

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Campaigning by the Numbers

A TIME *poll shows Glenn and Mondale close and Reagan up*

While Walter Mondale has more money and a far better campaign organization, John Glenn can take solace in figures. He is running a close second to the former Vice President, and each draws more support from Democrats and independent voters than all of the other contenders for their party's presidential nomination combined. But as the Democrats jostle and jockey on the hustings, the man they seek to unseat remains an elusive and increasingly formidable target. Ronald Reagan, ambling along at his own aw-shucks pace toward announcing for re-election, has perked up his poll ratings with a personal popularity that continues to outpace that of his policies or his party.

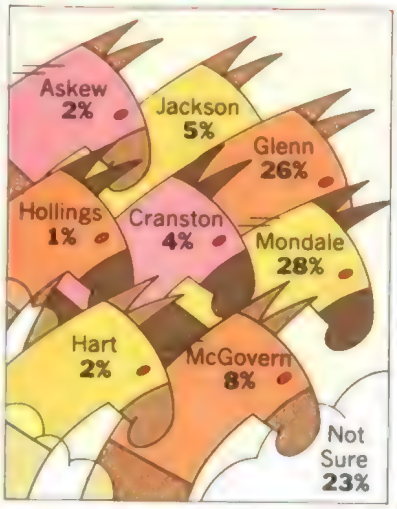
These are the main findings of a survey of American voters conducted for TIME by Yankelovich, Skelly & White, Inc.* When Democrats and independents were asked whom they preferred for the nomination, 28% picked Mondale and 26% chose Glenn, essentially the same support that each enjoyed when the summer began. The rest of the pack includes former Senator George McGovern, the 1972 nominee, with 8%; Civil Rights Leader Jesse Jackson, still mulling over whether to announce his candidacy, with 5%; California Senator Alan Cranston with 4%; Colorado Senator Gary Hart with 2%; former Florida Governor Reubin Askew with 2%; and South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings with 1%. With almost ten months to go before the convention in San Francisco, 23% say they do not yet have a preference.

Among Democrats alone, Mondale leads Glenn, 29% to 25%, but Glenn has a nine-point advantage among independents, who in some states can vote in either party's primaries. Mondale's greatest strength is in the Northeast, where he tops Glenn by 35% to 24%; he trails the former astronaut in the Midwest and South. Mondale is the clear choice of blacks and other minorities, with 32% support, easily beating out Glenn with 12%, and even Jesse Jackson, who currently claims only 23% of that constituency.

At this early stage, the polls tend to reflect heavily the name recognition that each candidate enjoys. Glenn, Mondale, McGovern and Jackson are far better known than the other contenders. In the case of Hart, part of the reason he trails badly in the preference rankings is that 60% of the voters say they are not yet familiar enough with him to form an opinion.

*The findings are based on a telephone survey of 1,000 registered voters from Sept. 20 to Sept. 22. The potential sampling error is plus or minus 3%. When compared with the results of previous polls, the potential sampling error is plus or minus 4.5%.

Whom would you prefer as a presidential candidate?

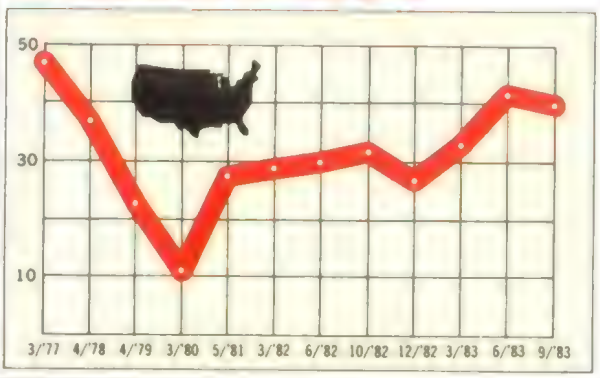


One way to measure the strengths a candidate can build upon, and the liabilities that may hold him back, is to see how many people have already decided that he is either acceptable or unacceptable as "a possible President." When this measure is used among registered Democrats, Glenn seems to have a slightly larger reservoir to draw upon in his quest for the nomination. While 58% find him acceptable, only 14% of the party members label him unacceptable, with the rest not yet familiar with or sure about him. Mondale, who is better known, is acceptable to 66% of his party but unacceptable to 22%. McGovern and Jackson are both well known, but 39% of the Democrats say the South Dakotan would be unacceptable to them as President, and a full 51% feel that way about the black activist. Although the others trail in the polls, they have much room for growth within their party: Hart's acceptable/unacceptable ratio among party members is 23% to 14%, Cranston's is 20% to 22%, Hollings' is 7% to 15%, and Askew's is 8% to 15%.

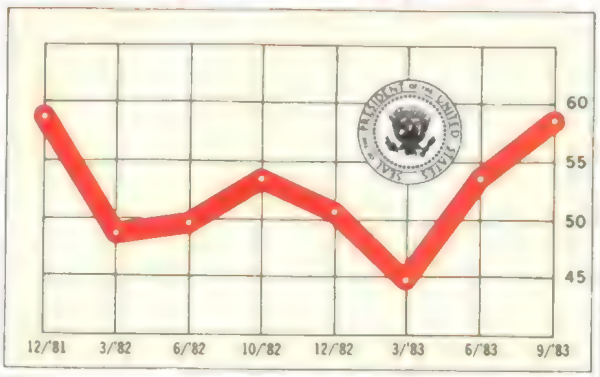
Calculating a candidate's acceptability to Republicans and independents as well as Democrats gives an indication of who has more potential to win a general election. Although Glenn and Mondale are both considered acceptable by about 55% of all registered voters, some 33% declare that Mondale is not acceptable, while only 18% say that of Glenn. That may be partly because voters are less familiar with Glenn's positions and ideology. Jackson is labeled as not acceptable by 56% of all voters, McGovern by 46%, Cranston by 26%, Hart by 18%, and Askew and Hollings by 17%.

Whoever eventually wins the Democratic nomination may find it difficult to unseat Reagan if he runs again. The public's rating of the President's performance has risen to its highest level since the first year of his term, with favorable ratings outnumbering unfavorable ones 59% to 41%. In June 54% gave him favorable reviews, while in March the figure was only 45%. The gender gap was still notable: this time he got high ratings

% who think the state of the nation is good



% who approve of Reagan's performance as President



Is this individual acceptable or not acceptable as the next President of the U.S.?

	Acceptable	Not Acceptable	Not Familiar
Glenn	55%	18%	21%
Mondale	54	33	9
McGovern	37	46	13
Hart	19	18	60
Jackson	18	56	21
Cranston	17	26	53
Askew	7	17	73
Hollings	6	17	73

from 64% of the men and just 54% of the women surveyed. Only 35% of blacks and other minorities gave him favorable ratings, and a full 23% gave him the poorest possible grade on a 1-to-10 scale.

To determine true support for the President, rather than simply personal good will toward him, voters were asked if they hoped that he would run for a second term. For the first time in 1½ years, voters said that they did, by 48% to 41%. Last June the sentiment was 46% to 42% against such a bid. The reason most often cited by those who said that their impressions of Reagan had improved during his term was his handling of inflation. Those who have a less favorable impression of Reagan tended to cite his record on unemployment. Almost 60% said that he had made sufficient progress on solving the problem of inflation, but roughly the same percentage said he had not made sufficient progress on unemployment.

Part of Reagan's success stems from an increase in the number of people who say that things in the U.S. tend to be going "very well" or "fairly well." That number has risen from 35% last December to 55% today. Indeed, these are the highest records of general satisfaction recorded in TIME-Yankelovich polls since 1978. Republicans are by far the most satisfied: 73% of them say that things are going well, compared with only 23% of the Democrats. There is also a gender gap in the responses. Some 62% of the men but only 49% of the women say things are going well. A similar sounding, which asks voters for their assessment of the "state of the nation," shows that the percentage of those responding "good" stayed near the 42% level reached in June, an increase from 27% last December and 11% in March 1980, during the depths of the Iranian hostage crisis.

Reagan is clearly the overwhelming choice among Republicans for their party's nomination. But should he choose not to run again, the current preferences among Republicans and independents for the nomination are 35% for Vice President George Bush, 19% for Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, 9% for Kansas Senator Robert Dole, 7% for New York Congressman Jack Kemp and 27% undecided.

In order of perceived importance, the nation's most pressing problems were reducing the risk of nuclear war, providing quality education, reducing waste and inefficiency in Government, dealing effectively with the Soviet Union and providing jobs for the unemployed. On the first two of these issues, approximately 35% of the voters thought the Democrats would do a better job, while about 20% felt the Republicans would be more competent. (The rest thought there would be no difference or expressed no opinion.) By 46% to 15%, Democrats were seen as more able to provide jobs for the unemployed. Voters thought the Republicans had a slight advantage in dealing with the Soviets and with Government waste. Those polled said that they would be far likelier to base their presidential vote on broad concerns rather than on narrower social issues, such as gun control, school prayer and abortion.

Voters rated Reagan highly on certain key personal attributes. Regarding his belief in traditional values, 64% gave him high marks and only 10% gave him low marks. He was deemed honest by 52% (*vs.* 17% who thought him "not very good" or "poor" in this regard), trustworthy by 52% (*vs.* 22%), experienced by 51% (*vs.* 19%) and good in times of crisis by 48% (*vs.* 14%). Ratings for Mondale and Glenn are lower at this time in all of these categories, probably in large part because they are untested as Presidents. Notably, only 18% felt Mondale catered to special interests, a charge frequently made by his critics. Reagan was faulted on this score by 31%.

On the issues, Reagan's greatest strength is the perception that he "will keep our defenses strong." He also is given positive marks for maintaining good relations with allies and getting the economy back on track. His lowest ratings are on his ability to keep the U.S. out of a war and controlling Government spending. Mondale and Glenn, on the other hand, are ranked most highly in an area where Reagan is relatively weak: "Treating all Americans fairly." Like Reagan, both leading Democrats are considered unlikely to deal well with Government spending. But the spending issue may not be so important as it once was. When asked whether it was more important to "maintain programs for the needy even if it means a failure to cut the budget" or to "cut the budget even if it means fewer programs for the needy," voters chose the former course by 63% to 34%.

The TIME-Yankelovich survey also revealed a somewhat disturbing uncertainty about the events surrounding the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 a month ago. When asked to sort out the chain of events, 62% said that "something happened we don't understand." Only 26% said they think the event occurred "exactly as the President says," although virtually none thought the plane was on a spy mission. Some 46% said the President has gone "far enough" in responding to the disaster, while 43% felt he had not.

Polls, of course, provide only a snapshot of a particular moment in the nation's thinking. As the lesser-known candidates gain greater recognition, and the views and personalities of each of the contenders become clearer in the voters' minds, there is much room for movement. But the snapshot is unambiguous on one point: any challenger who hopes to become the next President has his work cut out for him.

—By Walter Isaacson

Who would do a better job . . . ?

	Democrats	Republicans	Same
Reducing risk of nuclear war	34%	20%	38%
Providing quality education	36	17	39
Reducing waste and inefficiency in Government	23	32	37
Dealing effectively with U.S.S.R.	24	28	40
Providing jobs	46	15	31
Stopping spread of Communism	19	29	43
Controlling inflation	27	37	29
Keeping defense strong	21	42	30
Reducing crime	23	19	46
Providing health care	43	11	37
Helping the poor	54	12	27
Protecting the environment	43	12	36

TIME CHARTS BY RENEE KLEIN

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2.

Kids. The Saab 900 has a back seat that fits three kids very easily, as evidenced by the fact there's a middle seat belt.

3.

Groceries. Peat moss. Suitcases. Beer kegs. Or anything else you happen to be carting around. Because the other good thing about Saab's back seat is that it flips down to make 56.5 cubic feet of luggage space (53.0 in the 4-door model). Which, not incidentally, is more than you'll get from a BMW, Audi, and Volvo combined. Combined? Combined. (How is that possible? Aren't those other cars supposed to be big cars?)

4.

Extras. Or rather, the fact that on the Saab 900 Turbo, most aren't. Such features as electrically operated windows, central door locking, aluminum alloy wheels, Pirelli tires, sunroof, and air conditioning are all included in the base price. Plus one of the best radios around.

5.

Safety. Passive safety: the construction. Active safety: the handling, the braking, and the acceleration of the Turbo itself.

6.

Snow and rain and hail and gloom of night. You handle the first three with Saab's front-wheel drive. Not front-wheel drive that suddenly appeared on a Saab after an exhaustive marketing study. Rather, front-wheel drive that was originated by Saab back in 1949. And refined and refined and refined and refined and refined ever since to give you quick, precise steering in any weather.

As for gloom of night, Saab has a more recent innovation: side guidance lights. When you signal for a turn or go into reverse, they illuminate alongside your car.

7.

Kudos. Maybe you couldn't care less how many times the Saab 900 Turbo was named the best this or that by the buff books.

But The Times? The stately New York Times? Surely you care what The Times said. It said: "A well-used '67 model was the first Saab I ever knew, and it was a case of love at first sight.... Now I am in love again, this time with the Saab Turbo."

8.

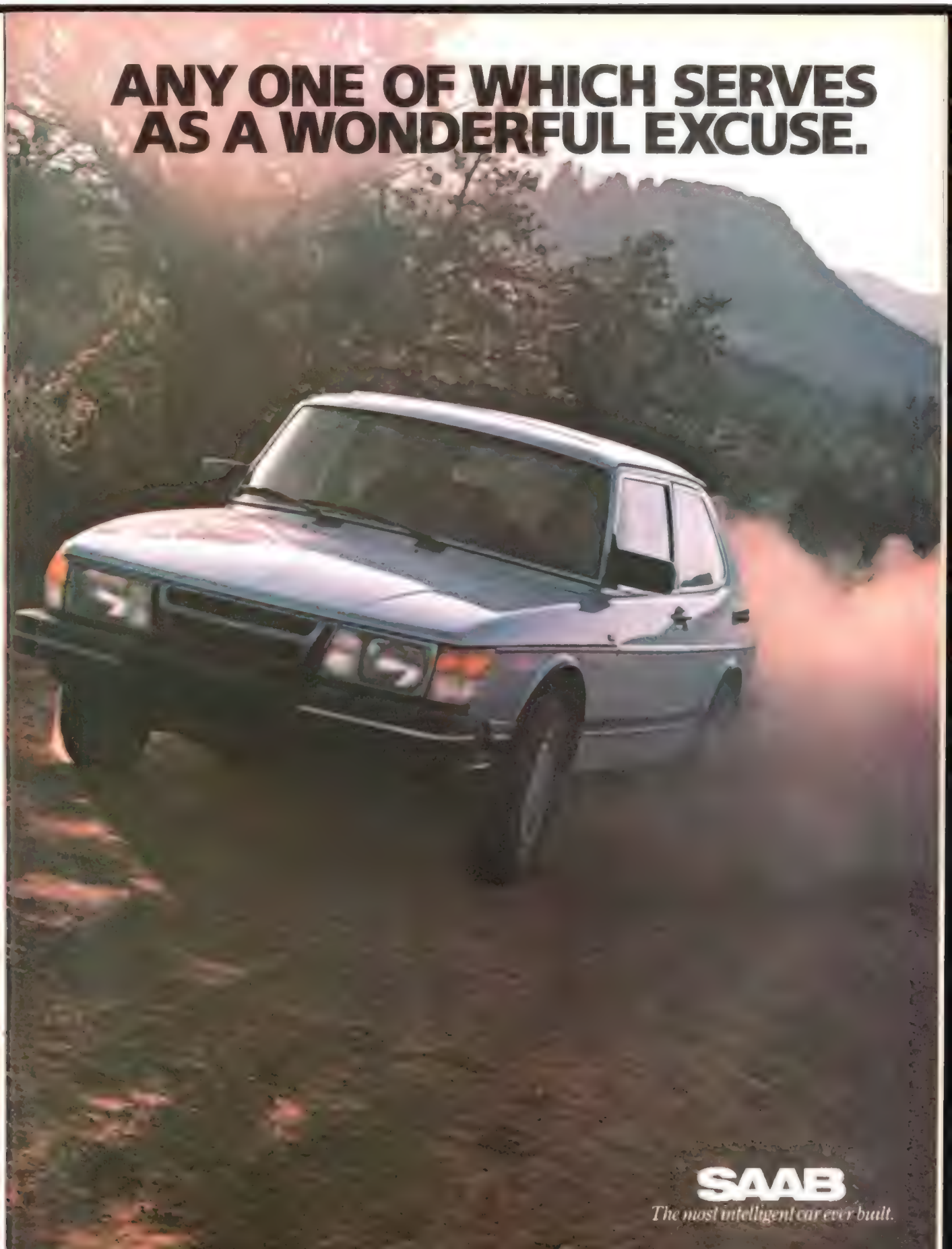
Warmth and comfort. The toastiest Saab feature is indisputably its heated front seats. This is not solely to make you feel good, however. Studies have shown that a warmer winter driver is a more alert driver, too.

The seats themselves are orthopedically molded for back support and dished inward for lateral support. As *Rallye* magazine said, "One could drive a 900 Turbo all day long and walk out of it refreshed, like you had only driven across town."

Speaking of drives across town, you could take one right now in the Saab 900 Turbo.

Then the above list will either be of great help while you rationalize your decision, or no help at all because you'll buy a Saab just because it feels good.

*Saab 900 5-speed APC Turbo (21) EPA estimated mpg, 34 estimated highway mpg. Use estimated mpg for comparison only. Mileage varies with speed, trip length and weather. Actual highway mileage will probably be less.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Denial: Anne Burford, former head of the Environmental Protection Agency, on Capitol Hill

Poisons That Won't Go Away

The EPA announces and proposes but is haunted by the past

William Ruckelshaus, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, laments that the nation seems caught up in a quest for the "chemical of the month." He was referring to once obscure substances, such as dioxin and PCB, that suddenly get catapulted into the public spotlight. Enter October's celebrity poison: EDB.

Scientists have known for a decade that ethylene dibromide, a pesticide and gasoline additive, is one of the most powerful known carcinogens. The bulk of the 300 million lbs. the U.S. produces annually is used to keep leaded gasoline from fouling auto engines. Because the chemical is added at refineries in a closed system and breaks down during engine combustion, such use is considered safe enough. The danger comes from agricultural practice: growers inject it into citrus grove soils to control rootworms, and exporters fumigate some $29 million worth of fruit with it to meet foreign quarantine laws.

This summer the EPA learned that the chemical had contaminated water supplies in some communities in Florida, Georgia, California and Hawaii. And studies showed that traces of EDB in fruits and vegetables did not decay completely as had previously been thought. Last week, three years after the EPA first circulated draft rules governing the chemical, the EPA announced an emergency ban on soil injection of EDB, only the second such action in agency history, and moved to stop fumigation in 30 days. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) also announced a new, stiffer exposure limit for the estimated 57,000 who risk breathing EDB on the job. Scientists at OSHA have concluded that the current standard is 200 times too high to protect workers from the chemical, one of the most dangerous the agency says it has ever regulated. But then David Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, asked OSHA to withdraw its new standard, whose cost to U.S. industry is estimated to be $30 million. OMB asked for more time to study the economic impact of the rule.

At hearings of the House Government Operations Subcommittee, Democratic Representative Mike Synar of Oklahoma charged that John Todhunter, the former head of EPA's pesticide program who was forced out earlier this year, had delayed regulating EDB as a favor to agribusinessmen. Synar brandished a letter Todhunter wrote in June 1982 to Florida Representative Andy Irelanda, in which the regulator argued the growers' side of the case, stating, "It is important to your state's citrus exporters that EDB not be phased out unless there is an alternative available." Todhunter dismissed Synar's evidence as proving nothing. Said he: "I signed 60 letters a day."

Other charges about EPA thundered from the Hill last week, the most serious against former EPA Administrator Anne Burford, who was testifying before another House subcommittee. She was confronted with a charge that 15 EPA officials had told congressional probers that they believed Burford was playing partisan politics last year when she delayed announcing a $6 million cleanup grant for California's Stringfellow acid pits. Burford denied the accusation. Her former chief of staff, John Daniel, testified that officials of the President's OMB pressured the EPA to consider industry costs before implementing regulations, even in cases where EPA is barred by law from weighing such considerations. Daniel also claimed that OMB forwarded some EPA-proposed regulations to industry groups before they were made public.

To refurbish EPA's standing, Ruckelshaus, who took over the agency last March, is urging the Reagan Administration to get quickly behind a new policy to control acid rain. Previously Reaganites have supported only "more study" of the subject. But Ruckelshaus has recommended a plan to reduce sulfur emissions by 4 million to 5 million tons a year, mainly in the Northeast. To comply with this proposal would cost between $1.5 billion and $2.5 billion. ■

Watt: Adding Coal to the Fires

Interior Secretary James Watt last week tried a new tack in his campaign to survive in office. His method: lying low in the wake of criticism loosed a fortnight ago when he described a newly appointed advisory commission by saying, "I have a black, I have a woman, two Jews and a cripple." Watt reportedly drafted a resignation letter but did not send it. President Reagan told aides he thought Watt ran his department well, then announced that he would not ask him to resign. Instead, said Reagan, "I have accepted his apology."

That presidential pardon was enough to derail a no-confidence resolution in the Senate. Even so, insiders were betting that the Secretary's days were numbered. G.O.P. strategists view Watt's loose lip as a political liability. Said one top White House aide: "It hurts us on the 'sensitivity' issue."

Meanwhile, the now famous five-member advisory commission, appointed at the behest of Congress to review Interior's controversial coal-leasing program, gamely met in Washington. But Watt chose not to wait for its recommendations; instead, he decided to issue five leases for coal-rich federal land in North Dakota to private companies (cost to them: $912 million). That decision flew in the face of a directive from the House Interior Committee, which had ordered Watt to delay granting the leases until Congress could review them. As Watt saw it, the House had no legal right to stop him. But U.S. District Court Judge Louis Oberdorfer disagreed, ruling that the House had the right to delay the leases under Article IV of the Constitution, which grants Congress the "power to dispose" of U.S. lands.

Texas Massacre

A robbery ends in five murders

When Mary Tyler, the assistant manager of the Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet in the East Texas town of Kilgore, failed to return home, her worried 16-year-old daughter notified police. They were unable to help her. But around 9:30 the next morning, an oilfield worker in the area thought he saw something in the weeds along State Highway 323, 14 miles south of town. When he investigated, he found the bodies of Tyler, 37, another woman and three men.

As the police reconstructed it, all five were abducted from the restaurant following an after-hours robbery the weekend before last. The thieves apparently ordered the five to walk 120 yds. down an oilfield service road and lie face down side by side. Then they pumped bullets into their victims' backs and heads, as in a gangland execution. One of the victims, Opie Ann Hughes, 39, may have tried to flee; her body, clad in a Kentucky Fried Chicken uniform, was some 50 yds. away from the others.

Last week lawmen were searching for leads and suspects in the grisly slayings near Kilgore (pop. 11,000), an affluent town 100 miles east of Dallas. Officials were so stumped that Rusk County Sheriff Mike Strong brought in two psychics to comb the oilfield where the victims were found for any clues to the puzzle. Ballistic and autopsy reports showed that two guns had been used to fire eleven bullets into the five bodies. Some $2,000 was missing from the restaurant cash register, and jewelry, billfolds, purses and other valuables had been taken from the victims.

Kilgore merchants and Kentucky Fried Chicken officials have put up a $50,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the killers. Tyler, like Hughes, had worked at the fast-food outlet for years; she left behind a husband and four children. All three young men were 20, students at Kilgore College and members of Phi Theta Omega. Joey Johnson had been "Mr. Overton High School" in his senior year. David Maxwell, president of the fraternity, worked at the chain restaurant to put himself through college and support his pregnant wife. Friends remembered Monty Landers as a "clean-cut, good guy." Landers, the only victim not employed by Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Maxwell, who was off duty, had dropped in after 10 p.m. to pick up their fraternity brother Johnson.

Hundreds of mourners attended a memorial service last week at Kilgore College. Says Kentucky Fried Chicken Supervisor Howard Bailey: "I've been in the grocery business for ten years. I've been held up. I've looked down the barrel of a gun. And the robbers took the money and were gone. This case, however, is very strange." ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Using Words as Weapons

Not too long ago, a guest at any Soviet embassy reception was greeted by a phalanx of unsmiling men in gray, square suits looking for all the world like spies, which they were. A couple of years ago, the image changed. There still were some of the gray bricks lurking in the drapes, but there were also a growing number of well-tailored young men wearing granny glasses and smiles. Indeed, Vladimir Mikoyan, second secretary in the press office and grandson of the old Bolshevik Anastas Mikoyan, could pass for a Duke University graduate student.

This sudden concern for appearance was accompanied by a marked increase in the tidiness, literacy and quantity of Soviet information handouts. They provided, under bright blue headings, quick responses to American statements and also carried the texts of speeches by Soviet leaders. Kremlinologists took note of this cautious entry into the age of total communication, but few others did.

Now we see another evolutionary step. The Soviets have been dragged into the great public arena, where the free nations have always had to contend. Ever since the Korean airliner was shot down we have been at war with the Soviets.

Shultz, left, and Gromyko, right, face off in Madrid: talking instead of walking

This time the salvos have been adjectives and not explosives. The high-intensity rhetoric has frightened some people, and nobody in the diplomatic business dismisses the risk that tempers could boil over and lead to military action.

There is, however, another and more hopeful view. We are arguing instead of fighting, whether at the United Nations, where President Reagan appeared last week, or through the printed statements that rolled off the Kremlin presses in response to Reagan. In this day of cataclysmic weapons, is the pen proving mightier than the Minuteman and the SS-20? Opinions are cautious and contradictory. Still, there has been born in these past chaotic weeks a small idea that more energy, time and wealth are being spent on persuading than on military maneuvering.

Experts at the State Department point out that beneath the rhetorical barrages the actual commitments of troops and other military units in areas of aggravation and possible confrontation (El Salvador, Lebanon) are quite small compared with those of ten or 20 years ago (Viet Nam, Cuba). One top official, watching the angry Shultz-Gromyko meeting in Madrid after the airliner was shot down, saw all the elements of a classic diplomatic explosion and instant walkout. Yet something kept the two men talking. They feared for their images. In this skirmish, Gromyko faltered. He suggested to the world that his government would do it again, and the shock waves were visible on the faces of the world's reporters. They, in turn, conveyed their dismay to readers and listeners back home. But the Soviets could not run off and close the doors as they used to do.

"It is increasingly more difficult to control information and keep it from ordinary people," says Oswald Ganley, information-resources expert at Harvard. Generally speaking, he suggests, the more people talk the less they fight. At the same time, we have to be careful. There are opportunities for misunderstanding if the communication gets careless, as in the Iranian hostage crisis, which Ganley believes was prolonged by excessive rhetoric.

The Korean airliner incident had different characteristics. The evidence of the Soviet attack gathered by high technology was irrefutable. Within hours, news of the atrocity was known to hundreds of millions of people (the Voice of America alone reaches 100 million, including 21 million in the Soviet Union). All those Soviet tanks and missiles could not do a thing against this invisible force. Leaders in Moscow were pushed into the battle of words; loud and threatening maybe but, so far, less lethal than what might have happened in the old days.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Aiming To Gain Ground

Talk of peace, as the fighting goes on and on

Salvadoran soldiers help a comrade wounded in the defense of Tenancingo

As the crowd gathered in the columned halls of the presidential palace in Bogotá, Colombia, to await the outcome of the second face-to-face meeting between representatives of El Salvador's warring factions, rumors spread that the talks were on the verge of collapse. So when delegates from the Salvadoran Peace Commission and from the five-faction guerrilla movement that opposes the government emerged from the negotiating chamber nearly 3½ hours later, the sense of relief was almost palpable. "The door is open for future meetings," said a smiling Colombian President Belisario Betancur as he posed with the seven Salvadorans. "The dialogue for peace in El Salvador has been directly initiated." But when asked to give a thumbs-up, thumbs-down verdict on the session, Peace Commission President Francisco Quiñónez evasively thrust his thumb sideways. Later, he described the meeting as "a total disappointment."

The Bogotá talks produced little progress in ending El Salvador's four-year-old civil war. Representing the provisional government of President Alvaro Magaña, the Peace Commission insisted that the insurgents take part in the national elections that are scheduled for early next year. The guerrillas, however, were still holding out for a settlement in which they would be given a share of power before having to participate in any elections. They also demanded that future meetings be held in El Salvador, a move that would give them added legitimacy. The leftist coalition predicted that talks would continue despite the present impasse, but Peace Commission members seemed to be pessimistic about the future of negotiations.

There were other reminders last week of how intractable the problems are in a region whose troubles seemed to be momentarily forgotten as the Korean Air Lines disaster and the war in Lebanon captured world attention. In both El Salvador and Nicaragua, guerrillas engaged government troops in some of the most intense fighting in months. In El Salvador, the U.S. supports the government, while in Marxist-led Nicaragua the U.S. has, through the CIA, helped finance the insurgents. To no one's surprise, Daniel Ortega Saavedra, 37, coordinator of Nicaragua's ruling junta, lashed out at the U.S. during his address to the U.N. General Assembly in New York City last week, charging that the Reagan Administration had "declared war on the people of Nicaragua." He claimed that U.S.-backed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) had killed 717 Nicaraguans and caused economic damage totaling $108.5 million since 1981. The U.S., said Ortega, was pursuing "the policy of the big stick, the policy of gunboats, the policy of terror." The Sandinista leader warned later that Nicaragua was prepared to go "everywhere" (including, implicitly, the Soviet Union) to procure the combat aircraft it needs to check the *contras*. The state of conflict in each country:

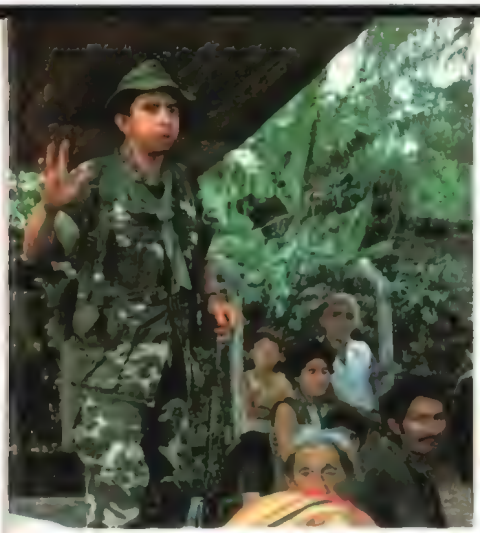
El Salvador. While both sides went through the motions of peacemaking in Bogotá, they still hoped to gain a decisive edge on the battlefield. Crawling through cornfields, tobacco patches and shoulder-high brush, squads of guerrillas staged a surprise early-morning raid against several army outposts near the hilltop town of Tenancingo, 17 miles northeast of San Salvador. After two hours of fighting, frightened townspeople, many of whom were hiding under their beds, heard approaching army helicopters. They were soon followed by spotter planes and three U.S.-supplied A-37B Dragonfly jets.

ALPERT—KEYSTONE

Nicaragua's Ortega at the U.N.

The guerrillas countered with a barrage of automatic machine-gun fire and rocket-propelled grenades and fled for the center of the town, seeking cover and supplies in the courtyards and homes of the villagers. As clay-tile roofs splintered and shattered in a sudden rain of machine-gun fire, the fighter planes unloaded their cargo of 250-lb. bombs, sending bottles and statuettes of saints flying from shelves and demolishing many adobe homes. Fleeing civilians were gunned down in the indiscriminate fire from the jets and helicopters circling overhead. Said a stunned villager: "What can we do? The bullets come from one side. They come from the other side. Where can you go? You cannot avoid it."

When the smoke cleared, as many as 40 residents of Tenancingo and 20 government troops had been killed. The guerrillas escaped with at least 20 casualties. Salvadoran military officials claimed that government pilots had not intended to strike the town center and had been misdirected by insurgents using captured radios. The commander who led the counterattack apologized to the people of Tenancingo, explaining that the brutal bombing raid had been an "exception." Nevertheless, the incident was bound to set back government efforts to pacify and repopulate war-



An officer apologizes for the bombing attack

Peasants march through San Salvador to protest new proposals on land reform

Frightened civilians leave Tenancingo

torn areas of the country. It was also sure to draw the wrath of U.S. congressional critics.

Further complicating the situation, the Constituent Assembly, charged with drafting a new constitution before next year's elections, has been painfully slow. The reason: bitter debate over three proposed articles that would jeopardize the bold land-redistribution program that has forced large landowners to turn acreage over to small farmers during the past three years. Moderate Salvadorans want the land-reform provisions to be spelled out in the constitution in clear, irrefutable language. Former President José Napoleón Duarte, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, warned that any effort to dilute land reform would "be responsible for a violent social revolution. It is a historical mistake."

Some 15,000 peasants and Christian Democratic loyalists paraded through downtown San Salvador last week to express opposition to the proposed articles, further snarling normally congested morning traffic. The crowd massed in Parque Libertad roared in approval when an impassioned speaker asked: "Do we want the land for those who work it?" It was the largest political demonstration since 1980, when leftists took to the streets to protest against the death squads and the policies of the civilian-military junta then in power. President Magaña had given the land-reform advocates special permission to hold a march, despite a ban on public demonstrations, and U.S. officials quietly hoped that the Constituent Assembly would be equally accommodating in finding a compromise that would preserve land reform. Said an American diplomat: "It is indispensable to the survival of the country."

Nicaragua. In the most serious outbreak of fighting since May, U.S.-backed *contras* launched a three-pronged offensive against the town of Ocotal, about 15 miles from the Honduran border. Before Sandinista forces pushed them back into the hills, the *contras* managed to dynamite the main bridge that links the northern province of Nueva Segovia to the country's main cities. The *contras* also occupied and destroyed a border checkpoint at El Espino, a cluster of customs buildings on the frontier with Honduras.

Besides the ruined bridge, the most visible reminder that the *contras* had come and gone were hundreds of soggy leaflets, strewn along the dirt roads of Barrio Sandino, a poor sprawling district on the outskirts of Ocotal. The neatly typed tracts warned that the *contras* were initiating a new phase in their struggle, and affirmed that "with God and patriotism we will overthrow Communism."

The Sandinistas angrily claimed that Honduran army troops in green fatigues had joined the bluish-uniformed *contras* in their northern offensive. They also accused neighboring Costa Rica of aiding *contras* who launched an attack against Peñas Blancas, an outpost on Nicaragua's southern frontier. While Costa Rican national guardsmen stayed discreetly away from the border, Sandinista troops pushed back the *contra* raiding party, but not before the guerrillas had destroyed the customs office and killed three Nicaraguan soldiers.

The short-lived offensive may have been staged to persuade the U.S. Congress to renew CIA funding for the *contras* for the fiscal year that began last Saturday. Under the complicated rules that keep the U.S. government afloat until a new budget has been approved, it is not likely that Congress will be able to invoke the Boland-Zablocki Amendment that threatened to cut off aid for the not-so-secret "covert" war. Two weeks ago, the Senate Intelligence Committee authorized the Administration to continue funding the *contras*. But it is by no means certain that the White House will get the aid it requested, which by some estimates is as high as $30 million.

Congress also turned its attention to El Salvador last week. In a quick, unanimous vote, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved a one-year extension of the requirement that U.S. aid to El Salvador be linked to evidence that the Salvadoran government is making progress in improving human rights. As the national bipartisan commission on Central America headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger prepared to set off on a six-nation fact-finding tour of the region next week, there was little doubt that the Administration could still use all the advice on Central America that it can get. *—By John Kohan. Reported by Timothy Loughran/San Salvador and Alessandra Stanley/Managua*

U.S.-supported *contra* guerrillas on a mission inside Nicaragua

After the armistice: a team of Marines stationed at Beirut Airport plays hoops, while Lebanese Army soldiers celebrate

LEBANON

Strange Sounds of Silence

Cease-fire No. 179: A respite or a move toward reconciliation?

The early signs hardly seemed propitious. As representatives of Lebanon's fractious factions prepared to discuss the freshly announced cease-fire last week, the meeting was suddenly scrubbed because the delegates could not agree on where to gather. After a day of delicate negotiating, a neutral site for the newly formed "security committee" was chosen: a deserted bank building in the hamlet of Al Mahattah, halfway between the Druze town of Shuweifat and the Christian village of Kfar Shima, about three miles south of Beirut. Around 11 a.m. they began pulling up in their Land Rovers. Gathering in the same place were emissaries of the Lebanese Army, the Christian political alliance known as the Lebanese Front, the Druze-led National Salvation Front and the Amal Shi'ite militia.

Then, just the sort of scene that makes Lebanon so maddeningly difficult to fathom occurred. The four men, mortal enemies for the most part, behaved like chums at a class reunion. "One might have thought they had all known each other," marveled an observer. "A very friendly group, with no tension in the air."

During the past decade, Lebanon has endured 178 cease-fires (assuming any such count can be accurate), so the prospects for No. 179 were not exactly sunny. Will the country's bitter porridge of sects and fiefs all honor the cease-fire and negotiate a fairer division of national power, or will the pause simply be used to rest up and rearm before the bloodletting commences again? For many Lebanese, the answer is too depressing to contemplate. Says a Beirut professor: "It is only a respite, and we must take advantage of it to see our friends and enjoy life a little while it lasts."

The truce survived its first week with no major wounds, despite bouts of shelling in the southern Chouf and stray sniper fire in Beirut. Much of the credit belonged to the Lebanese Army, which refused to respond to provocations in the capital's southern suburbs. The most encouraging sign came on Thursday, when Beirut International Airport reopened after being shut down for four weeks. As the first incoming plane, a red-and-white Middle East Airlines Boeing 707 from Saudi Arabia, circled over Beirut several times, people in the streets pointed skyward and cheered.

With the guns of Lebanon finally silent, the Marines for the first time in more than a month could move around without flak jackets and helmets. Uniforms were being cleaned, and officers at the 1,200-man Marine compound at Beirut International Airport were again conducting inspections of weapons and barracks.

U.S. Envoy McFarlane

In Washington, Congress found it easier to approve a compromise that allows the Reagan Administration to keep the Marines there for an additional 18 months. A reluctant House of Representatives passed the measure, 270 to 161, while an even less enthusiastic Senate endorsed it, 54 to 46. The debate in both chambers reflected widespread fears about a deepening U.S. involvement in the region. Republican Congressman Barber Conable of New York best summed up his colleagues' sentiments: "It's a choice between sure disaster if we pull out and possible disaster if we stay. It's a very unhappy choice."

In the arduous negotiations that led to the truce, Saudi Arabian Prince Bandar ibn Sultan and U.S. Special Envoy Robert McFarlane purposely left certain provisions vague. The three main elements all require further tinkering: 1) the cease-fire will be monitored by "neutral observers"; 2) a Lebanese "security committee" will decide on a permanent force to patrol the Chouf Mountains; and 3) most important, Lebanon's major groups will be called together for a conference of national reconciliation. In addition to President Amin Gemayel, the dozen invitees include Camille Chamoun, head of the Christian Lebanese Front; Pierre Gemayel, the President's father and founder of the right-wing Christian Phalange; the leaders of the Syrian-backed National Salvation Front (including Druze Chieftain Walid Jumblatt); Nabih Berri of the Amal Shi'ite militia; and former Prime Minister Saeb Salam, a Sunni Muslim. Both Syria and Saudi Arabia will be allowed to send observers.

After meeting three times last week in the bank building at Al Mahattah, the four-man security committee agreed to open the highway south of Beirut and to set up a joint liaison center at which cease-fire violations could be reported. The delegates, however, failed to concur on who would be stationed at the outpost or where it would be located. Meanwhile, there is disagreement over the "neutral observers" in the field who will watch over the cease-fire. The U.S., along with the members of the Multi-National Force (France, Italy and Britain), are pressing for a force of 600 that would in some way be affiliated with the U.N. In a blistering speech to the U.N. General Assembly in New York City last week, however, Syrian Foreign Minister Abdel Halim Khaddam rejected any U.N. connection. His dubious reasoning: it would symbol-

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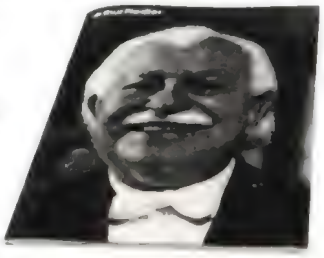

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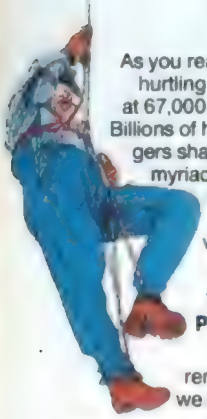

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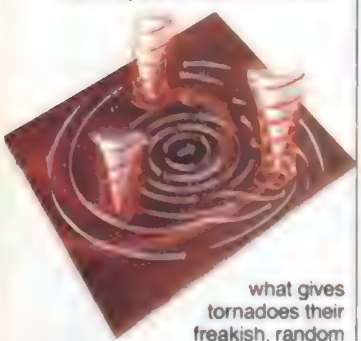

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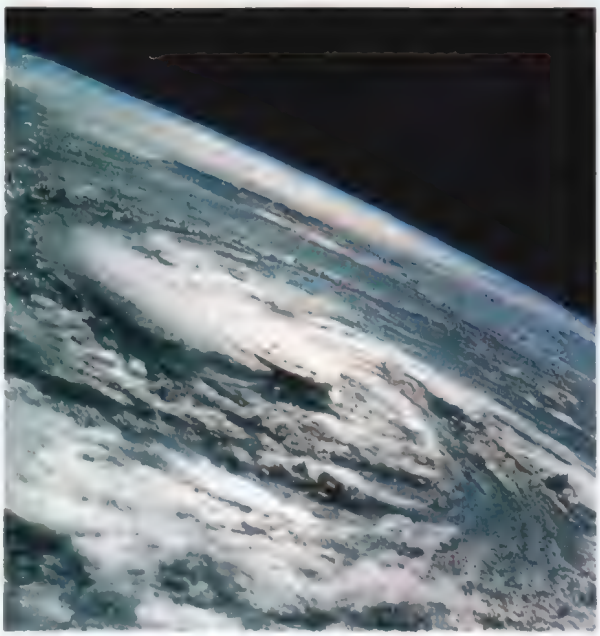

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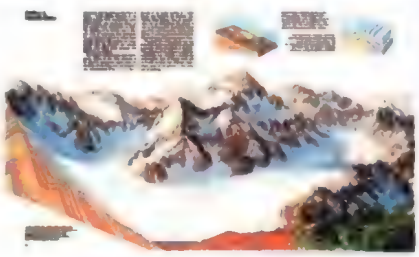

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ize the permanent partition of Lebanon.

President Gemayel has begun to poll the leaders of various Lebanese groups to set an agenda for the political summit. Since many of the scheduled participants have feuded for years, he is deliberately not pushing for an early date. The first session is likely to be held in Saudi Arabia, perhaps as early as this week.

The challenge will be to persuade the country's Christian groups, which have long held the upper hand politically, to concede more power and rights to the Muslims, who represent a majority of the country's 3.5 million inhabitants. "It's going to take some time for the Christians to accept the realities and compromises," predicts a senior U.S. diplomat. "It's going to take a lot of shouting matches, trading and perhaps violence." President Gemayel knows that his government's survival depends on ceding some authority to the country's other sects, but a number of his fellow Christians are sure to resist the change. There are already signs that the Lebanese Front, the Christian political alliance led by Chamoun and Pierre Gemayel, is deeply divided. Both men support the talks; as Chamoun told TIME last week, "We can agree with 90% of what the Muslim leaders say they want." Yet the group's military wing, which is still recovering from the pounding it received from the Druze over the past month, is unhappy with the accord. Says a senior Christian militia officer: "A cease-fire is in our interest at the moment because it allows us to take a deep breath. After we have had a chance to regroup, we will see."

As intractable as the internal squabbling may be, the fate of Lebanon may ultimately rest with Syria. As Syrian President Hafez Assad has amply shown, he can make or break any settlement in the country. By finally recognizing this reality and assuring Assad that the U.S. realizes that Syria has legitimate interests in Lebanon, McFarlane helped to win Assad's approval for the cease-fire. Exactly what else the U.S. might have promised Assad is unknown, though American officials insist that no secret commitments were made. Some U.S. diplomats, however, hint that Washington is prepared to grant Assad a formal role in the broader realm of Palestinian peace talks.

Many U.S. officials privately doubt that the new line of accommodation will work. They suspect that Syria is simply using the truce to regroup, with the aim of toppling the Gemayel government. Perhaps. But Washington and Beirut have always been puzzled about Syrian aims. Ultimately, Syria wants to be recognized as a pivotal powerbroker in the Middle East, but its tactics are sometimes elusive. Although Assad has proved himself to be the master of the game, what his game is remains a mystery. ***—By James Kelly. Reported by Johanna McGeary/Washington and William Stewart/Beirut***

A Fighter Pilot Turned Negotiator

Saudi diplomats in Washington and other capitals have usually been self-effacing and reserved, preferring to make their case in quiet, behind-the-scenes contacts. Not Prince Bandar ibn Sultan, 34, who played an instrumental role in arranging the cease-fire in Lebanon and who has just been appointed as Saudi Arabia's new Ambassador to the U.S. He likes to be in the thick of the action.

Prince Bandar's royal blood and his savvy about American ways have given him access in Washington unmatched by any other envoy, including the Soviet Union's 21-year veteran Anatoli Dobrynin. The son of Defense Minister Sultan ibn Abdul Aziz and the nephew of King Fahd, Bandar is on a first-name basis with many Washington notables, and has entertained such officials as Secretary of State George Shultz and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger at his McLean, Va., estate overlooking the Potomac. His $1.6 million Georgian brick house, complete with tennis court and swimming pool, happens to be next door to Senator Edward Kennedy's. Says Bandar: "We are good neighbors."

Bandar began representing Saudi interests in Washington almost by accident. He was undergoing officers' training at Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala., in 1978 when the Senate faced a decision on whether to authorize the sale of 60 F-15 fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia. Fahd asked Bandar to lobby in favor of the deal. Using grace and wit, he helped persuade the Senators to approve the $2.5 billion sale. Three years later, when President Reagan proposed the sale of five AWACS radar aircraft to Saudi Arabia, Bandar was a natural choice to make the Saudi case, which he did successfully.

JOANA WALKER

Bandar and Reagan last week

A handsome six-footer, Bandar could be a Saudi prince straight from central casting. He is equally comfortable in traditional Bedouin robes and in tailored English suits. Born to power and wealth, Bandar tried to establish his own identity by pursuing a career in which his father's position would not be a factor in his success. "When I am flying at 50 feet upside down in a supersonic jet," he says, "it's me and not my father. The jet doesn't give a damn who you are."

Bandar learned his fluent and colloquial American English during the past ten years, when he attended U.S. military schools. After graduating in 1968 from Britain's Royal Air Force College at Cranwell, he took advanced fighter training at Myrtle Beach Air Force Base, S.C., and earned a parachutist's badge at Fort Benning, Ga. Bandar became an instructor pilot at Randolph Air Force Base in Texas, and finally went on to Maxwell. Along the way he earned a master's degree in international relations at Johns Hopkins University.

Bandar's flying career came to an end last year when he underwent surgery for the removal of a disc in his back. By then he was deeply engaged in diplomacy. He acted as an emissary from President Reagan to P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat last year, when the Administration hoped to win Arafat's support for the Reagan peace initiative. "Flying beats the hell out of diplomacy," says Bandar. "Things are clear, and you get instant feedback from your airplane. In diplomacy you don't know where to start." For all his modesty, U.S. officials give Bandar considerable credit for the Lebanon cease-fire. He not only provided access to the Syrians for U.S. Special Envoy Robert McFarlane, but also helped to shape the agreement that emerged. Says Saeb Salam, a former Lebanese Prime Minister, who was closely involved in the cease-fire negotiations: "Lebanon was very difficult terrain for him to cover, but he handled it very wisely."

Although Bandar misses the thrill of flying jets, he acknowledges that helping to arrange the cease-fire was the high point of his life. The agreement, which was signed in Beirut late in the evening, was to go into effect at 6 the next morning. Bandar stayed up through the night to see whether it would. At about 7:30 a.m. he realized that the shooting had stopped. "The feeling that hit me then was something that I never experienced before," he recalls. "To know that people had stopped dying was more exhilarating than anything I have felt in my life."

NORTHERN IRELAND

The I.R.A.'s "Great Escape"

Britain is embarrassed as 38 terrorists break out of the Maze

The arrival of the food van at Northern Ireland's Maze Prison on Sunday afternoon was routine enough. It was carrying the 4:30 meal (corned beef, pork, eggs, cheese, bread and tea) for the prison's inmates, many of them convicted terrorists of the Irish Republican Army. Passing through two security gates, the van pulled up in front of No. 7 H-block of the prison, site of dramatic I.R.A. hunger strikes two years ago. There the routine came to a violent stop. Prisoners armed with smuggled guns and homemade knives had already overpowered their guards; now they commandeered the vehicle. Thirty-eight men, who had been waiting for the van for more than an hour, piled inside; one of them pointed a gun at the driver's stomach. The van gingerly retraced its path toward the prison's main gate. There the escaping inmates outnumbered the guards 4 to 1. A prison officer, who realized what was happening, swerved his car across the entrance. Another, James Ferris, 43, struggled with the prisoners who had streamed out of the van. Finally, the escapees ran off, leaving behind them Ferris, fatally stabbed, and six other guards, wounded.

Thus began what jubilant I.R.A. supporters quickly dubbed the "Great Escape." The 38 men—convicted killers, bomb experts and kidnapers from the I.R.A.'s militant Provisional wing—had broken out of the compound considered until then to be perhaps the most escape proof in Europe. The biggest prison break in British history triggered one of the largest manhunts ever seen on either side of the Irish border. In Dublin, Irish authorities ordered increased surveillance of the rugged border area to prevent fugitives from reaching traditional sanctuaries in the counties of Sligo, Donegal, Monaghan, Leitrim and Louth. In Ulster, security forces threw a tight five-mile cordon around the prison, while thousands of soldiers and police blocked roads, combed fields and searched houses throughout the week. It was, said one police officer involved in the search, "like trying to corner a pack of wolves."

By week's end the dragnet had yielded 19 fugitives, 15 by Sunday night, two more on each of the following two days. Many of those were merely sacrificial pawns, analysts believe, willing to be recaptured to cover the escape of some of the I.R.A.'s most notorious terrorists. Among those still at large: Brendan McFarlane, 31, jailed for life for a bombing attack that killed five civilians in a Belfast bar; Kevin Artt, 24, jailed in August for the 1978 murder of Albert Miles, a deputy governor of Maze Prison; and six others with life sentences for murders. The dragnet's major find was Hugh Corey, 27, who was serving a life sentence for murder. Corey and Patrick McIntyre, 25, were captured in an isolated farmhouse 25 miles south of Belfast after a two-hour siege. Corey is believed to have been the I.R.A. commander in Londonderry.

Showing fugitives' photos to motorists

In the breakout from the prison gate many of the fugitives simply flagged down passing motorists and forced them out of their cars. One group of about 15 men stole three vehicles from a local farm, forcing a teen-age boy to explain the automatic controls of a car. Another tried to escape in a taxi. Police dragged four men, all of them either naked or clad only in underpants, out of the nearby River Lagan, where they had been submerged and were breathing through reeds. Another was marched away, blood dripping from a gunshot wound to his arm. The apprehended man grinned at Eyewitness Winston English and said, "It was worth a try."

It was also a major propaganda coup for the I.R.A. The escape came after a wave of arrests and convictions during the past year (thanks to the testimony of several "supergrasses," or onetime terrorists turned informers) that has severely shaken the organization. The slang term to grass means to tip off policemen. Evidence from just one supergrass, Christopher Black, has led to 35 convictions, including that of Kevin Artt. Largely because of the informers, political murders in Northern Ireland have fallen dramatically, from 97 in 1982 to 47 so far this year. That sort of success led Ulster authorities to expect some sort of dramatic I.R.A. counterstroke.

When it came last week it brought jubilation to the organization's supporters and outrage to just about everyone else. The Rev. Ian Paisley, the militant Protestant leader, called for the resignation of Nicholas Scott, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State in the Northern Ireland Office. Said British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in Ottawa at the start of a visit to Canada and the U.S.: "It is the gravest [breakout] in our present history, and there must be a very deep inquiry." An embarrassed James Prior, Britain's seasoned, avuncular Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, immediately announced a high-level inquiry headed by Sir James Hennessy, Britain's chief inspector of prisons.

The investigation will have to answer some potentially damaging questions. How did the prisoners obtain guns? Why was the prison's alarm system so ineffective? How did the escapees avoid so many checks? How was the prison staff deployed? Did some guards contribute to the security lapse? And how could such a thing happen in a fortress like Maze, which has every security device available, including multiple 15-ft. fences and an 18-ft. concrete wall topped with barbed wire around each cell block? All gates around the 144-acre complex are solid steel and electrically operated. The prison is even built on solid concrete to foil tunnel builders. If last week's angry mood holds, the investigation could claim some high-ranking victims. —*By Louisa Wright*

Corey and McIntyre recaptured at a farmhouse 25 miles south of Belfast

It was, said a policeman, "like trying to corner a pack of wolves."

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Luanda, once known as the Rio de Janeiro of Africa: the signs of decay are everywhere

ANGOLA

A Ghost of Its Former Self

Independence has brought deprivation, disruption—and Cubans

Marxist-ruled Angola poses one of the biggest stumbling blocks to solving the problems that plague southern Africa. Five years of complex negotiations over a U.N. plan to win independence for the South African–controlled territory of Namibia have produced a stalemate over South Africa's demand that, as a quid pro quo, *Cuba withdraw its 26,000 troops and advisers stationed in Angola. Yet the Cubans now seem more important than ever to the Angolan government. With the backing of South Africa, Angolan rebels have scored a series of gains in recent months, presenting a serious threat to the Soviet-supported regime of President José Eduardo Dos Santos. Last week* TIME's *Tala Skari joined a group of journalists in a visit to embattled Angola, the first Western reporters to tour the country for quite some time. Her report:*

"When the Portuguese left in 1975," sighed a resident of the capital of Luanda, "they didn't go gracefully." Indeed, the exodus of some 350,000 Portuguese after independence stripped the country of its only trained personnel and plunged it deeply into civil war. Today the signs of that hasty evacuation are written into Luanda's decay.

With its pastel-colored stucco buildings, palm-lined harbor and sandy beaches, this city nestled in gentle foothills on the Atlantic Coast used to be known as the Rio de Janeiro of Africa. Now, in most respects, Luanda is a ghost of its former self. In the once thriving downtown, at least two-thirds of the stores have closed. Merchants, unable to purchase supplies, have boarded their doors. The few shops that remain open display almost their entire stock in the front window. Prices are inflated: in one showcase, a pair of secondhand children's trousers was marked 500 kwanzas, or roughly $40 at the official exchange rate. But very often merchants refuse even to sell what little they offer, for fear that they will not be able to restock their shelves.

Reminders of a more prosperous past haunt the city. Shells of half-finished high-rises mar the skyline, their struts jutting crazily and their cranes frozen in mid-air. Hulks of taxis, virtually new trucks, and even public buses rust on roadsides or in overgrown lots because the few spare parts that trickle into Angola are funneled to the army. To its credit, however, the government has managed to maintain a reliable city bus system.

After independence, the population of Luanda more than doubled to 1 million as tribesmen flooded the capital in search of work. In the squalid shantytowns of wooden clapboard, sheet metal and clay adobe that ring the capital, barefoot children share the streets with squealing piglets, chickens and goats. Conditions in the bleak ten-story apartment houses in town are not much better: in front of one building, women and children draw runoff water from an enormous pothole in the street.

Less conspicuous than the many vestiges of Portuguese colonialism are Cuba's forces, which Western officials estimate include between 21,000 and 22,000 troops and 5,000 civilians. Some are stationed on the outskirts of Luanda, where their presence is unmistakable. Oversize portraits of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara decorate the perimeter of their barracks near the airport on the eastern edge of Luanda. In addition to troops, the Cubans provide hundreds of doctors, teachers and administrators who help train civilian Angolans.

Potentially one of the richest nations in Africa, Angola's 7 million people are saddled with the mixed blessings of oil, rich diamond fields and Marx. But the 17-year conflict with the South African–backed guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi, is bleeding government coffers. Although Angolan officials refuse to reveal how much of the national budget is spent on the military, Western diplomats put the figure at 25%. Forty percent or more of Angola's foreign currency earnings are used to pay for military equipment, while the country's foreign debt is estimated at $2.5 billion to $3 billion.

Rebel and South African attacks have damaged bridges, railways and hydroelectric dams. The distribution of food has been severely hampered, while repeated UNITA offensives have disabled the Benguela railway, which used to transport copper from Zaïre and Zambia to the Atlantic. That disruption alone will cost Angola up to $100 million annually in unearned transit fees. UNITA claims to control at least one third of Angola, mainly in the southeast, although the government seems to retain its hold over the major towns.

When the Portuguese left, they not only stripped machinery and even telephones from factories but took with them the administrators needed to run the economy. Before independence, Angola was a food-exporting nation; now it imports 90% of its needs. Oil remains Angola's most important resource, providing 82% of its foreign currency earnings of $1 billion. The drop in world demand, however, has shrunk production from 150,000 bbl. per day in 1980 to 115,000 bbl. last year. In these conditions, money has become virtually worthless, and an imaginative bartering system has replaced the official currency for many transactions.

The failure of Marxist ideology to solve Angola's economic ills has led the pragmatic Dos Santos to quietly encourage Western investment. Luanda's port is one of the few efficiently run enterprises, and the government is now seeking $40 million to $50 million from Western banks to finance an expansion project. Relations with U.S.-based Gulf Oil Corp., which operates three offshore rigs and plans to open a fourth, are also surprisingly cordial. "The government here is hardly ideological," says an American oil-industry representative. "After all, they turn to [U.S. consulting firm] Arthur D. Little when they need advice. That's hardly what I would call hard-core Marxism."

President Dos Santos

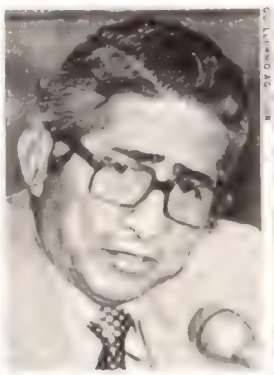
Confronted with a collapsing economy and a mounting rebel threat, Dos Santos is not likely to renounce Soviet sponsorship of his regime. Nor is he likely to agree to South Africa's demand for a withdrawal of the Cuban troops, who help the 35,000 government soldiers and as many as 50,000 militiamen fight the UNITA guerrillas. With Angola's future uncertain, the chances of breaking southern Africa's broader diplomatic logjams seem equally remote. ■

MEXICO

Oil Union Blues

Bilking workers of millions

Murder, kidnaping, hired guns, fraud, embezzlement, rake-offs, power struggles—sounds like gangland crime, Chicago-style. But according to accounts of a current union scandal, those are also the standard ingredients of the oil business, Mexican-style. The sordid revelations are the latest, and most titillating, evidence of the widespread corruption that flourished under President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado's predecessor, José López Portillo. Last week Senator Ramón Martínez Martín, a former leader of the teachers' union, called for a complete investigation of the allegations of wrongdoing. If proved, he said, the charges against one of Mexico's largest unions "would be considered crimes against the economy and against the oilworkers."



"Godfather" Hernández

"Trickster" García

Perspiring Barragán

Charges and countercharges about a fertile breeding ground for vice.

The scandal came to the surface in August, when Salvador Barragán Camacho, leader of the powerful Oil Workers' Union of the Mexican Republic, accused fellow Union Executive Héctor García Hernández (alias *El Trampas*, the trickster) of stealing some $6.6 million in union funds. The overweight, droopy-eyed García promptly sold most of his Mexican assets, then crossed the border to his $250,000 town house in McAllen, Texas. There, García fired off a letter to President De la Madrid accusing Barragán and the alleged behind-the-scenes "godfather" of the union, Joaquín Hernández Galicia (alias *La Quina*, a diminutive for his first name) of bilking the union of more than $130 million, 20 times the amount he was accused of taking. García was in a position to know, he later claimed, because he had acted as bagman for the two.

If García thought he was safe in Texas, he soon learned otherwise. According to McAllen police, two thugs kidnaped García at gunpoint early last month and spirited him to Mexico. There he was handed over to Mexican authorities, who slapped him behind bars on fraud charges. García told officials that he feared for his life, probably with good reason. The day after his jailing, another union boss, Oscar Torres Pancardo, was killed in a mysterious crash. In an apparent attempt to disguise the circumstances, his bodyguards fatally shot Torres' driver in the head. At a rare press conference, the perspiring Barragán nervously endorsed a government inquiry into the Torres death. Barragán then charged that he was the intended victim of a murder plot hatched by none other than García.

Mexico's giant national oil company, Pemex, appears to have been a particularly fertile breeding ground for vice. Since coming to office last year, De la Madrid has pursued a vigorous "moral renovation" campaign aimed at stemming the high-level graft that was rampant in Mexico. Last July a judge had former Pemex Director Jorge Díaz Serrano arrested on a $34 million fraud charge. Contrary to custom, Díaz Serrano was not bailed out by political friends, but still sits in Mexico City's Southern Penitentiary, awaiting trial.

Last week Federal District Judge Jorge Reyes Tayabas announced that both Barragán and *La Quina* will be questioned about García's accusations. But despite public disapproval, genuine reform is unlikely. The 133,000-member oilworkers' union is reputed to be as powerful as it is corrupt. The union is guaranteed 100% of all Pemex construction contracts, plus 40% of all drilling contracts, and even takes a cut on projects completed by other workers. Although some of the union's profits are channeled into workers' programs such as farming cooperatives, union leaders apparently are taking far more than their fair share.

Moreover, because of lax labor legislation, the union's leaders are virtually immune from prosecution. Even if the government had the power to purge them, it probably would not want to do so. Under the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico has been essentially a one-party state for the past 54 years. Instead of sharing power, it balances interests by trading off political favors. In return for turning a blind eye to union affairs, the party has been guaranteed votes, campaign supporters and a smooth flow of revenue-producing oil. ■

SOVIET UNION

Wrong Stuff

Trouble at Tyuratum

The account remained sketchy, the details not altogether clear. One morning early last week, according to U.S. intelligence sources, a booster rocket exploded into flames on a launching pad at the space center in Tyuratum, in the Central Asian Soviet republic of Kazakhstan. Atop the rocket was a manned Soyuz space capsule bound for a rendezvous with the orbiting space station Salyut 7. Luckily, the safeguards apparently worked without a hitch, and the two or three spacemen aboard survived the disaster.

The rocket either exploded or caught fire when its fuel tank, containing some 270 tons of kerosene and liquid oxygen, suddenly ignited and turned the launching pad into a flaming ball. In such emergencies, the capsule, its crew snugly strapped inside, blasts away from the pad within milliseconds after the blowup. The rocket tip arcs up to an altitude of several thousand feet, where the capsule then rolls out of its casing (much like a tennis ball out of a tin can) and parachutes safely back to earth.*

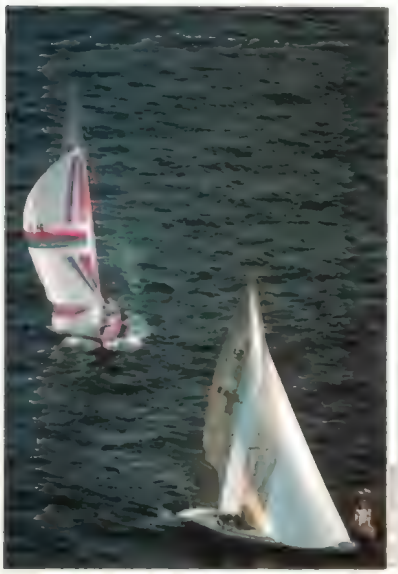
The cosmonauts probably did not escape without some injuries. When the capsule shoots away from the rocket, its occupants suffer a terrific jolt comparable to the one received in a car hit from the rear at high speed. Besides conducting a time-consuming investigation into how the accident happened, the Soviets will have to rebuild the launching pad, one of three at the facility. The estimated cost of repairs, including underground fuel lines: between $250 million and $500 million.

Since 1971, when the first Soyuz-Salyut hookup took place, about 30 flights have been launched. Over the years the space stations have set several impressive records, including the longest stint in orbit (211 days in 1982). Salyut 7, launched with great fanfare in April 1982, is the most sophisticated so far; weighing some 40 tons and outfitted with three docking ports, the beetle-shaped craft is designed to serve eventually as the core of a much larger complex. Two members of last week's hapless team, Vladimir Titov and Gunady Strakalov, were forced to return to earth after only 48 hours last May because of docking problems. This time, the crew was on its way to take over from Cosmonauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Alexander Alexandrov, who have been aboard the space lab since late June. The Soviets now could order their comrades to return in their aging Soyuz or launch a fresh one to retrieve them; either way, the experiments aboard the Salyut will be delayed. ■

*The U.S. Apollo program featured similar safety measures, but not all disasters can be handled so smoothly. In 1967 Virgil ("Gus") Grissom, one of the original seven Mercury astronauts, and his two crew members were asphyxiated in a launching-pad fire at Cape Canaveral.

Our Cup Runneth Under

The old trophy sailed off to Perth when Australia II *beat* Liberty



The land Down Under had not witnessed such an orgy of jubilation since V-J day ended the war in the Pacific. When *Australia II* won the America's Cup on Rhode Island Sound last week, it was as if the cork had been pulled on an entire continent of bubbly. Indeed, as the revelry roiled on, the only worry in many Australian minds was that the champers would run out. A 130-ft. by 65-ft. Australian flag was hung from Sydney Harbor bridge. In every village, town and city from Wollongong to Jiggalong, car, bus, train and ferry horns blared and ululated from daybreak on. Crude posters with messages like YOU BEAUTIES and WE KEELED THEM sprouted outside homes, shops and public buildings. At Brisbane's Crest International Hotel, the Early American Inn became the Australia II Inn, its Statue of Liberty decked with the Australian flag, a stuffed koala bear placed in an arm. The stock exchanges saw a surge in shares connected with any enterprise of Perth Entrepreneur Alan Bond, *Australia II's* backer.

ARTHUR GRACE

Conner: a teary smile

"There are not many occasions when a Prime Minister can speak for everyone in Australia," intoned Prime Minister Bob Hawke, "but I know I can." Hawke, a nondrinker, was soaked in champagne as he appeared on national television leading spirited rounds of *Waltzing Matilda* and calling this "one of the greatest moments in sporting history." A Perth boy himself, Hawke appeared for the victory rites at the Royal Perth Yacht Club, sponsor of the winning boat. All but declaring a national holiday, the P.M. said that any employer who sacked a worker for being absent that day would be a "bum."

The cause of all this fizz and fever, the seventh and final race that broke the New York Yacht Club's 132-year-old hold on the Cup and ended the longest winning streak in sports, had been billed in advance as the Race of the Century. It was that, every hard-fought inch of the way.

Postponed on Saturday because of shifty winds, the race again seemed in jeopardy on Monday. Then, almost an hour late, with a southwesterly breeze notching a tender eight knots, the duel was on. *Liberty*, the defending twelve-meter yacht, took yet another start from the Aussies. Midway up the first leg, however, the Americans' 8-sec. lead turned into a deficit of three or four lengths as *Australia II* streaked upwind on a starboard tack and *Liberty* went to port. After the first crossover, Aussie Skipper John Bertrand committed the cardinal sin of leaving his

After taking the lead, above, and winning, *Australia II* is escorted back to port

The triumphant crew is hailed by supporters from

opponent uncovered. *Liberty* Helmsman Dennis Conner took the left side of the course for his own and by the first mark had opened a 29-sec. lead. It looked to many as if he had the race in his sail bag.

The Americans widened their lead to 45 sec. on the first leeward reach and managed to make it 57 sec. by the fourth mark. But on the fifth leg, a 4.5-mile run with the wind dead astern, the lead and the Cup changed hands. Playing the wind shifts, Conner moved to the left and sailed into a patch of dead air. With sails almost slack, *Liberty* jibed back, but the Aussie superboat picked up two shifts of friendly wind and rounded the fifth mark with a 21-sec. lead. Conner battled desperately to recover on the last, upwind leg, going through 47 grueling tacks. Said the American skipper: "We kept the pressure on them, but there was no point on that last weather leg that we thought their victory was in jeopardy."

When *Australia II* finally crossed the invisible line between the marker buoy and the committee boat, she was 41 sec. ahead. The spectator fleet exploded with excitement. Rubber dinghies, day sailers, party boats and ocean racers swarmed around the Down Under wonder in a cacophony of blaring horns and Klaxons. Ashore, bands of Australians waltzing Matilda and waving Aussie flags passed legions of local patriots God-blessing America and brandishing the Stars and Stripes. Despite a few ugly incidents, there was remarkably little ill will among the crowd of 10,000 on the Newport waterfront. As *Australia II* was guided back into her slip, Skipper Bertrand, Backer Bond and Designer Ben Lexcen led a round of hip-hip-hoorays for Conner and his men. "There will never be another like it," mused Halsey Herreshoff, *Liberty's* navigator. "It was the essence of sport in that one race."

A highlight of the rites was the unveiling at last of the radical keel that the Australians had kept carefully shrouded from view since their arrival in Newport last spring. Lexcen's design did not, as many pundits had said, sport a bulbous nose or a double trim tab. Its magic lay in the two one-ton deltoid wings drooping from the bottom of what, in effect, is a normal keel turned upside down; its trim tab is very narrow, however, with a strip of plastic fairing to make it even more effective. As *Australia II* had amply demonstrated, the wings kept the boat from sliding with the wind when heeling and helped it stand straighter when tacking. The configuration allowed Lexcen to use a sleeker hull design so that the boat's wetted surfaces were smaller than on conventional twelve-meters, thus reducing drag.

BARBARA Y. E. PYLE

DANIEL FORSTER

Lexcen overcome by emotion; revelers inspect his mystery keel

Nonetheless, at a press conference in which his voice broke and tears welled in his eyes, Conner concluded bravely, "There's no reason for America to think we're in any position but No. 1." Some American critics claimed that Conner had paid insufficient heed to his navigator and tactician and had thereby missed some crucial wind shifts. A kindlier assessment came from Australia's Lexcen: "Dennis saved the Cup the last time [in 1980], and he deserves the credit for almost saving the Cup this time."

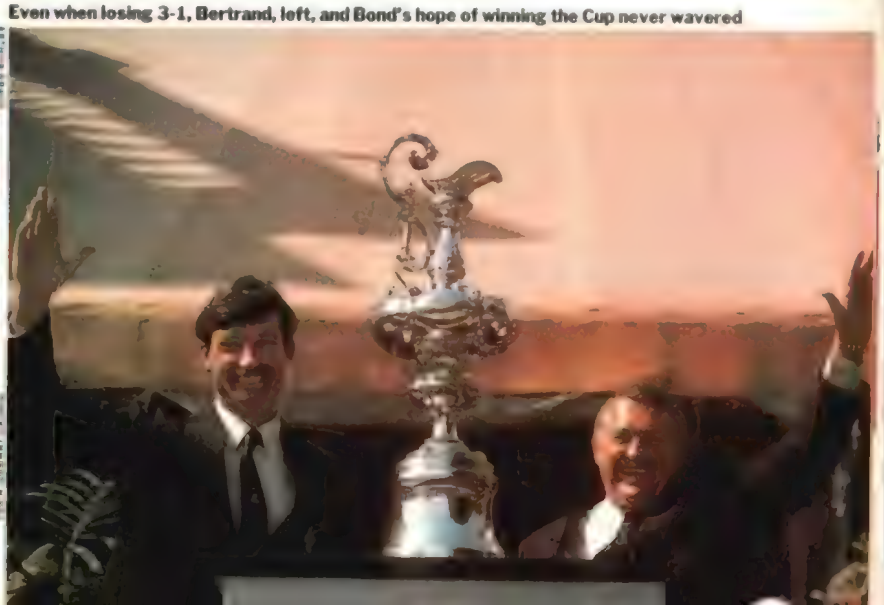
That night, the Auld Mug was unbolted from its pedestal at the New York Yacht Club's Manhattan mansion and taken to Newport by armored truck. Next day, at Marble House, former summer home ("cottage," in local parlance) of Harold Vanderbilt, himself an America's Cup legend, the unlovely pitcher was presented to its new owners and started the 11,620-mile trip to Perth. But first *Liberty* Syndicate Head Edward du Moulin gave Skipper Bertrand *Liberty's* dark blue burgee. Then N.Y.Y.C. Commodore Robert Stone presented Bond with "the bolt that's kept the Cup in place for 132 years." And Lexcen, who once told a reporter that he would like to steamroller the Cup and turn it into the "America's Plate," received from Stone a mangled hubcap. "I don't think there's any other country we'd rather see have the Cup," said Stone, adding that he had already been contacted by a backer willing to take up the challenge whenever the Australians defend it.

That will probably be in March 1987. It will still be called the America's Cup, after the John Cox Stevens yacht that won the trophy from the British in 1851. Meanwhile, Western Australia is girding itself for a building boom in anticipation of the challenge. At least seven new hotels are expected. There are also plans for a "yachting city," to accommodate as many as 20 challenging teams, sail lofts, dockyards and marinas, and a communications and press center. *Australia III*, also designed by Lexcen, is already on the drawing board and, claims Builder Steve Ward, is "better than *Australia II*. Two weeks after we had *Australia II* in the water, we knew we could build a better boat."

Ronald Reagan had a last word. At a ceremony in the White House Rose Garden, as the teams (only Conner was missing) stood stiffly in their blazers and slacks, the President congratulated both and offered "one final bit of advice to the Perth Yacht Club." Said he: "Don't bolt that Cup down too tightly." —*By Michael Demarest. Reported by Richard Hornik/Newport and Ernest Shirley/Melbourne*

Down Under aboard spectator boat *Viking King*.

Even when losing 3-1, Bertrand, left, and Bond's hope of winning the Cup never wavered



Still Walking Faster and Longer

At 79, B.F. Skinner writes about old age and himself

"I now present the devil," said Critic I.A. Richards, introducing Guest Lecturer Burrhus Frederic Skinner to his Harvard class in the late 1940s. For college students of those days, that was introduction enough. Psychologist B.F. Skinner was the double-domed egghead who had dismissed mind, feelings, religion and freedom in favor of "operant conditioning," a reward-and-punishment view of human life that was largely derived from experiments with pigeons. Clergymen and academics railed against him, and students showed up at Harvard Health Services suffering from "Natural Sciences 114 Syndrome," named for the Skinner course responsible for their emotional discombobulation.

Retired from teaching since 1974, Skinner, 79, lives quietly in a gray modern house on a dead-end street in Cambridge, Mass. Bothered by eye problems and partial loss of hearing, he still walks the two miles to his Harvard office each day with the aid of a cane. Since he stopped teaching, he has written seven books, two of them just out: *Enjoy Old Age*, co-authored with Psychologist M.E. Vaughan, and *A Matter of Consequences*, the third and final volume of his autobiography. Despite decades of controversy, Skinner remains convinced that his principles of 50 years are correct: freedom is an illusion; the behavior of men, like that of pigeons and rats, is shaped by external influences, not internal ones. To Skinner, actions that are rewarded are repeated; those discouraged are extinguished. Feelings and mental processes are just the meaningless byproducts of this endless cycle of stimulus and response. Says he: "A scientific analysis doesn't have a place for the individual as the initiator of behavior." Sad to say, it does not even have a place for a famous behaviorist to be proud of his books, which are simply the results of the environment working its way with the organism. "I am willing to concede that I have committed a kind of intellectual suicide in writing this autobiography," he comments at the end of *Consequences*. By denying creativity and freedom, Skinner says, "I have relinquished all chance of being called a Great Thinker."

True to his proclaimed indifference to either metaphysics or the emotions, Skinner's *Enjoy Old Age* has little to say about loss, death or the meaning of life. It is instead a collection of sensible tips for the elderly. (Samples: hang an umbrella on a handy doorknob if rain is predicted, read pornography to extend and pep up the sex life, prepare a few tricks to amuse grandchildren when they pop over for the inevitable visit.) The key to enjoying old age, Skinner believes, is to construct the right environment: "If you can, design a world in which you are not so much bothered by defective vision and hearing, not so much bothered by forgetfulness, not so much bothered by being bored."

The autobiography is a deliberately dry collection of facts, clippings and journal entries almost totally devoid of feeling or personal assessment. "I tried to write a rather different kind of autobiography," he says. "I simply tried to recount my life as it was lived, step by step—just a series of episodes as they happened to me—and insofar as possible, I avoided interpreting it."

Skinner describes himself as a tinkerer who loves to make new gadgets. He creates the famous Skinner box by adapting a Sears, Roebuck ice chest and uses it to teach pigeons to play Ping Pong and walk in precise figure eights. During World War II he designs a missile guidance system based on the idea that pigeons placed in the noses of torpedoes and bombs could direct the missiles to targets by pecking on electronic screens. The scheme is feasible, he insists, but the War Department is not persuaded. The younger of his two daughters, Deborah, is raised for 2½ years in Skinner's Air-Crib, a child's crib that is enclosed, soundproofed and temperature-controlled. Some members of the public accuse Skinner of monstrous experimentation with his children, but both girls grow up normally.* Horrified by the routine in Daughter Debbie's fourth-grade class, Skinner designs a primitive computer or "teaching machine" that flashes approval when pupils insert the right answer cards in a slot.

JOE WRINN

JAMES F. COYNE

Skinner with pigeons at Harvard in 1951, and in Cambridge last month

For Skinner, all of life is a stroll through a behavioral lab. While looking at Thoroughbreds on a Kentucky horse farm, he concludes that the animals could certainly be trained to run faster with recorded crowd noises and the stimulus of a front-running simulated horse mounted on a car. At an academic symposium, Psychoanalyst Erich Fromm angrily chops the air and argues that pigeons are not people, the usual one-line refutation of Skinnerism. Skinner wonders whether he can increase Fromm's air chopping by nodding and smiling each time the psychoanalyst's arm comes down. Sure enough, many Skinner smiles later, Fromm is sawing the air so vigorously that his wristwatch keeps slipping over his hand. A colleague, in on the game, passes Skinner a note: "Let's see you extinguish it." But Skinner fails to end Fromm's gesticulating, suggesting that people may not be pigeons after all.

Skinner frets about his handwriting, wonders whether he is too selfish, relives ancient academic squabbles, and plans his workdays to get the most out of his physical energy. He spends a good deal of time translating other people's prose—including portions of *Middlemarch*, a UNESCO statement and La Rochefoucauld's *Maxims*—into the jargon of behaviorism. He reads widely, but the humanities mean so little to him that he muses over the possibility of abolishing them. Even his daughters and his wife Eve are presented as obstacles in human engineering. "There is a problem doing things together," he once

*Debbie, a successful artist, is married and lives in London. her sister Julie, a professor of educational psychology at West Virginia University, brought up her two daughters in an Air-Crib

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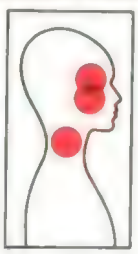

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said of Eve. "I walk faster and longer than she. She needs entertainment (movies, TV, plays) that I can do very well without. What is a fair deal then? How much should be done to make her happy in spite of the fact that it will make me less happy?"

Though his concern for his daughters is obviously genuine, his parental comments seem stilted or reek of the lab. He writes, "Debbie has been raised with nearly a minimum of aversive control." And later, "Last year Debbie wholly failed to understand her relation to other children."

Occasionally Skinner's feelings poke through, like crocuses through snow. He is depressed by his enormous success and feels vaguely guilty and anxious. "Much of this is the result of losing control," he writes. "Writing a paper in the silence of my study—that is the only verbal behavior I can really trust." For the austere Skinner, who would bellow "Behave, damn you!" at his pigeons, control is a key issue. Toward the end of *Consequences*, referring to his grim mother and weak father, whom he described at length in the first volume of his autobiography, he writes, "My parents' control was so well sustained that I had no chance to learn to revolt . . . I was never quite free."

In 1953 Skinner told three graduate students, "If my theory survives 25 years, it will be amazing." Now he says that behaviorists are losing out on campus because so few jobs are available in experimental psychology, and because people who work with rats and pigeons in laboratories "are often not the most interesting people on the faculty." But he insists that his behaviorism "is the method of the analysis of behavior, which, I think, has no rival at the moment. It has completely displaced all of the other ways of studying behavior."

Parents watch Debbie, 13 months, in Air-Crib

Complaints of monstrous experimentation

Skinner's insistence that behavior is more important than feelings has had its impact in child rearing and treatment of juvenile and drug offenders. Drug-free centers like Phoenix House set up a system of rewards and punishments and insist that behavior change before psyches are plumbed with conventional insight therapies. But, in fact, recent scholarship has moved away from Skinner. Noam Chomsky's conclusion that the structure of language is innate was considered a major blow to behaviorism, which holds that the acquisition of language, like most behavior, is purely a reaction to the environment. Evidence suggests that biological disposition limits the laws of learning, implying that the innate is more significant than Skinnerism admits. Today most psychologists disagree with Skinner's supposition that human behavior can be explained by rewards and punishments. Says Psychologist Fergus Craik of the University of Toronto: "We are not content to accept Skinner's dictum that there is nothing going on in there in the mind."

Though his philosophy now seems remote, perhaps even quaint, Skinner defends it doggedly and repetitiously, constantly complaining that his critics have misunderstood. But he is determined to push on, breaking new ground. He is one of the most formidable minds ever devoted to the notion that mind itself is unimportant. Says Skinner: "I never assumed I was not like my pigeons." —*By John Leo*

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Bitter, Deadly Dogfights

Airline deregulation leads to brutal struggles over union wage rates

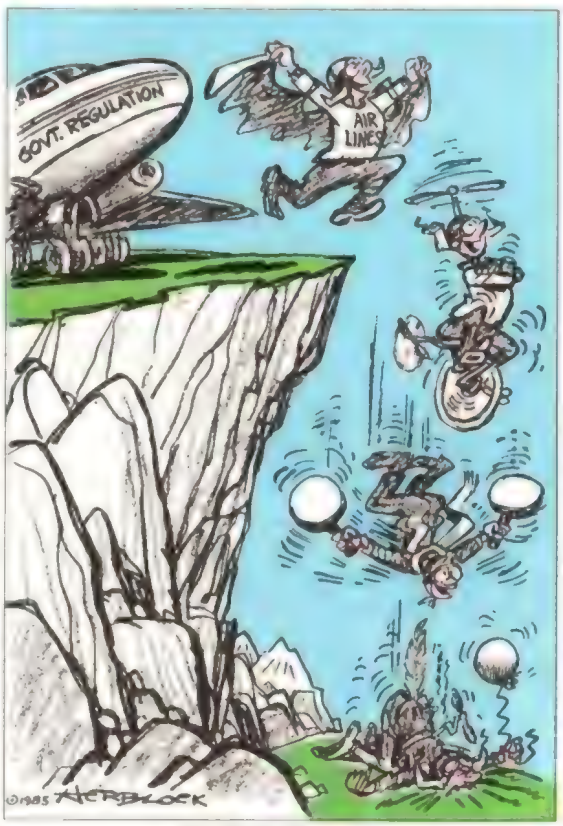
To be big in the U.S. airline business was once a strength. Now it is a weakness. That is the conclusion many airline executives have reached after five years of bitter fare wars. Largely as a result of airline deregulation, which started in 1978, a two-tiered industry has come into existence. On the one hand are the old, giant, heavily unionized trunk carriers with high, fixed labor costs. Examples: Continental, Eastern and TWA. On the other hand are the new, small, nonunionized carriers. Examples: People Express, Muse Air and New York Air.

Vast wage differences exist between old and new carriers. Pay for a pilot on a unionized airline is roughly twice that on a non-unionized one ($85,000 *vs.* $45,000). The old carriers did not worry excessively about labor costs in the days of regulation because they could always pass along the higher union salaries in higher fares. But now, in an era of deregulation, an airline can set any price it wants, and the nonunionized carriers are offering inexpensive flights that are stealing business away from the unionized ones. Lately though, the older lines have been trying some unorthodox ways to cut wages.

On Sept. 24, Continental Air Lines Chairman Frank Lorenzo, 43, attempted to reduce wage costs by temporarily going out of business. Lorenzo's plan was to close down the ninth largest U.S. airline and reopen a smaller carrier with lower labor costs, along the lines of the newcomers. Lorenzo claimed that Continental had been unable to win enough voluntary wage concessions from its unions.

True to Lorenzo's aim, Continental was again flying last week. Within 54 hours of filing petitions for reorganization under bankruptcy laws in Houston, it had re-established service to 25 of the 78 cities it had served. It fired all 12,000 employees and then invited 4,000 back at barely half their former wages. Senior Continental pilots who used to average $83,000 a year could return, but at salaries of $43,000. Flight attendants who had worked their way up to $35,700 were cut back to $15,000. Senior mechanics saw their wages shrink from $33,280 to $20,800. Lorenzo also reduced his own salary from $267,000 to that of a senior captain, $43,000.

Continental employees were livid at the bankruptcy and pay offers. Said one worker, recalling the airline's past brushes with economic disaster: "A lot of people gave their hearts and souls here for years. Now there is nothing but broken hearts." Complained Senior Flight Attendant Pearl Kelly: "Lorenzo is pulling us around like puppets."



FREE! FREE! FREE!

Some employees accepted the pay cuts because they felt there was no real choice. Said Flight Engineer Joseph Glavin: "They've got us between a rock and a hard place. You can quit and save your pride, or you can continue to work and hope for the best." Flight Attendant Jacki Vanderhock, 29, agreed to a 50% cut, from about $2,200 a month to $1,000. Said she: "I think we'll make it. At least if we agreed to work, we had a job and a future."

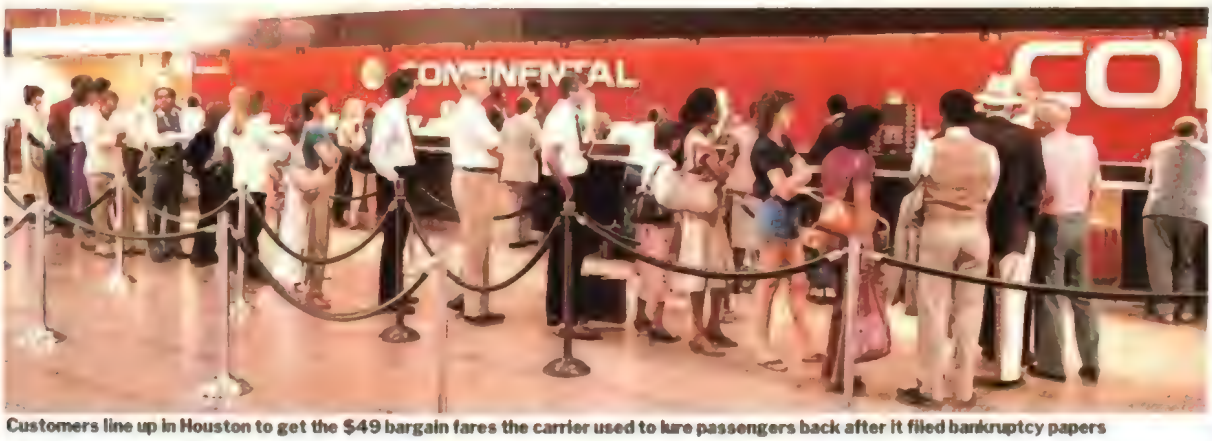
Union sources claimed that they had already offered deep concessions to Continental. Pilots, they said, had agreed to give up $60 million in wages, flight attendants $40 million. Said Pilot Paul Eckel: "Sure we have an inflated wage structure, but there's a right way and a wrong way to correct that."

Lorenzo defended his strategy, saying that the airline's union contracts were "vestiges of another era." He added that the bankruptcy maneuver would create for Continental the "opportunity to compete in a very challenging and potentially rewarding marketplace." Lorenzo called the airline the "New Continental" and said it aimed to be the biggest discounter in the air. One company insider said the motive was solely survival: "We didn't want it to bleed to death like Braniff," referring to that carrier's slide into bankruptcy in May 1982.

Stunned, angered and confused at first by Continental's unexpected shutdown, passengers by last week soon lined up ten deep at its ticket counters to grab "introductory" fares of $49 to fly anywhere nonstop on the airline's domestic system. At Terminal C of Houston's Intercontinental Airport, Bonnie Hash, 22, stood at the end of a line of 53 people, waiting to swap the return portion of a $425 round-trip ticket to Seattle for a $49 one. "It's inconvenient," said she, "but it's worth the wait." It is still not sure, though, that the flying public will stick with an airline surrounded by so much uncertainty.

Frontier Airlines, which also has financial troubles, reluctantly lowered its fares to match Continental's on competing routes. Said one Frontier official: "We simply cannot let Continental take business away from us at ridiculously low fares." United Airlines and American, however, did not follow suit.

Continental's pilots hit back late last week by striking the carrier. The pilots' strike could stop the New Continental from staying airborne, but there were signs that the airline might have enough pilots to keep flying despite the walkout. A Continental spokesman said only 350 pilots were needed to keep the downscaled airline going. Declared Lorenzo af-



Customers line up in Houston to get the $49 bargain fares the carrier used to lure passengers back after it filed bankruptcy papers

ter the pilots said they would strike: "Continental has more than enough pilots and flight attendants to sustain its operating level and increased service." He said that starting this week the airline actually would increase its domestic flights 20% by adding ten extra flights in eight major markets, restoring its schedule to what it was before the bankruptcy petition. In Continental's opinion, said an official, Bruce Hicks, pilots do not even have the legal right to strike because prestrike provisions of the Railway Labor Act, which governs unionized airline employees, have not been exhausted.

Pilots for other carriers were so angry at the Continental bankruptcy and other effects of deregulation that they were threatening to stage a short, symbolic nationwide work stoppage. Said an official of the 40,000-member Air Line Pilots Association: "Deregulation is ripping the guts out of this industry, and no one would like to focus on that. But someone is going to have to."

Other unionized carriers looking for their own routes to survival are closely watching Continental's bankruptcy and reorganization. Former Astronaut Frank Borman, 55, chairman of Eastern Air Lines, which is $2 billion in debt and lost $94.4 million in the first half of this year alone, has already said he might follow Lorenzo. Two days after Continental's ploy, Borman told Eastern's 37,500 employees that if they do not accept pay cuts of at least 15%, the company will be forced to either shut down à la Braniff or go into bankruptcy à la Continental. Eastern, one of the most heavily unionized firms in the industry, claims its salaries average a staggering $47,000.

Borman has asked Eastern employees for wage concessions in the past, and they have delivered, giving up possibly more than employees of any other airline. It is unclear whether workers will come around again. Borman, say insiders, has become increasingly aloof and tight-lipped, and resentment toward him is growing throughout Eastern. Said Al Hanson, a union spokesman at the airline: "This is a manufactured situation. It is time for Borman to exit; he's become totally noncredible." Borman has given his employees until Oct. 12 to agree to lower wages.

Cost-slashing Gambler Frank Lorenzo

Eastern Chairman Frank Borman

New carriers enjoy much lower wage costs.

Other unionized carriers are looking at still other ways to reduce labor costs. Trans World Corp. last week was considering spinning off its money-losing TWA subsidiary so that the airline could face its problems alone. Western is offering one-fourth of the company's stock to employees in return for wage concessions.

One unresolved issue in the Continental case is whether the company could legally slash labor costs through bankruptcy, since its real intention was to cut its work force and get employees to accept lower salaries rather than simply to shield itself from creditors. A company filing bankruptcy has, in some circumstances, had to prove conclusively that it was in imminent danger of collapse to get out of its union contract obligations.

Using bankruptcy as a tool to escape from sticky situations has been tried before. In 1982 Manville filed for reorganization to protect itself from an estimated $2 billion worth of suits flowing from alleged health dangers of its asbestos products. The company today is thriving. The Supreme Court is now reviewing a case in which a New Jersey building-supply company declared bankruptcy to escape a labor agreement with the Teamsters. A lower court has already ruled in favor of the company, saying that the terms of the contract were "burdensome."

Lorenzo claims that Continental's wage rates were more than just burdensome. His high-cost airline simply could not compete with the low-cost carriers. An unforeseen consequence of deregulation had given the new, nonunion airlines an important cost advantage over the old ones, and Lorenzo believed that he had no choice but to take drastic steps to reduce Continental's costs. Says he: "Some very, very brutal things have happened to this industry. I have the job of trying to steer through some stormy waters." But if Continental is successful in breaking its union contracts through bankruptcy, several other airlines may go down that same runway. —*By John S. DeMott. Reported by Jerry Hannifin/Washington and Lianne Hart/Houston with other bureaus*

Too Big a Bang for the Buck

The almighty dollar is causing problems at home and abroad

A country's currency is usually regarded as a symbol of national vitality. A strong currency is seen as a sign of a vibrant, confident country; a weak one is considered an indication that a nation is on the skids. For nearly three years the U.S. dollar has been riding high, perhaps too high and for too long. Now the almighty dollar's very robustness is creating alarm both in the U.S. and abroad. Says Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige: "As the ancient Greeks said, 'An individual's faults are virtues carried to excess.' When the dollar is excessively strong, it hurts our trade and that hurts jobs in the U.S. Too much of a good thing can be bad."

Since 1980 the dollar's surge has been all but relentless. Its value has increased 105% in relation to the French franc, 53% against the West German mark and 50% against the British pound. Now America's currency is about 25% too strong for its own good, according to such experts as C. Fred Bergsten, director of the Institute for International Economics in Washington, and Otto Eckstein, chairman of Massachusetts-based Data Resources.

The toll taken by the strong dollar has been heavy. Some economists believe it has been responsible for the loss of more than 1 million American jobs. Europeans complain that it could cause their prices to spiral upward. Cash-starved developing nations argue that an overvalued dollar undermines their ability to repay huge foreign debts. When world moneymen gathered in Washington last week for the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank *(see box)*, some financiers feared that the dollar had become a barrier to recovery around the world.

The dollar's current strength is a mirror image of its weakness in the late 1970s, when it sank to new lows against the West German mark, the Swiss franc and the Japanese yen. Then, many of today's problems were reversed. The abject dollar worsened U.S. inflation by raising the price of imports. European leaders angrily charged that the weak American currency made U.S. exports too cheap and was thus hurting the sale of European goods. The failing dollar also encouraged the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to keep jacking up oil prices since member countries were being paid for oil in dollars that were losing value almost daily.

In fact, a number of European fiscal leaders were far more shaken by the feeble dollar than they are by the currency's present strength. A top U.S. financial official met recently with foreign moneymen and asked them bluntly whether they preferred a weak or a strong dollar. The answer: a strong one.

The robust dollar took seed precisely four years ago during the Carter Administration. At the 1979 annual meeting of the IMF in Belgrade, foreign moneymen told Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker that he had to do something to bolster the then sinking American currency. Volcker returned to Washington and three days later unveiled a strategy for curbing U.S. inflation and stopping the dollar's skid. The plan called for the Federal Reserve to keep extraordinarily tight controls over the growth in money, even if that meant sharply higher interest rates.

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY ROBERT GROSSMAN

The resulting spurt in U.S. interest rates has been the main cause of the dollar's climb. A 90-day U.S. Treasury bill now yields 6.5% after allowing for inflation, for example, compared with 2.7% for a similar French security and 2.8% for one issued by West Germany. Such seductive American rates have attracted cash from all over the world and driven up the dollar's value. In June, foreigners held some $90.9 billion of U.S. Government bonds and notes, up 17% from the same month in 1982.

Even as the Federal Reserve was working to curb money growth and prevent renewed inflation, the Reagan Administration and Congress were generating record federal deficits, which are expected to hover around $200 billion a year far into the future. Says William Baldwin, senior vice president of the National Foreign Trade Council, a lobbying group that represents major exporters: "Virtually every one of our members has recommended that something be done about the budget deficit. We see it as the main problem that is driving up interest rates and making the dollar so attractive."

In addition, foreign investors have been flooding the U.S. with funds to escape conditions ranging from political instability in Latin America to West German uneasiness over the scheduled installation of U.S. Pershing II missiles. "The safe-haven factor has been very important in the flow of capital into this country," says Philip Wellons, an international finance specialist at the Harvard Business School.

The cost of having an expensive currency is high. The overvalued dollar adds about 25% to the price of American exports as varied as coal and computers. "The dollar's incredible value has really proved to be a disaster for U.S. industry," says Economist Eckstein. "The cost has been enormous, and I expect that U.S. economic performance will suffer for several years to come."

The U.S. trade deficit is likely to reach a record $70 billion this year (previous high: $42.7 billion in 1982). It could top a once unthinkable $100 billion in 1984. Although part of that gap reflects slower growth and weak demand in much of the rest of the world, many economists consider the U.S. currency's strength to be the key factor. "The primary reason for our trade deficit," observes Martin Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, "is undoubtedly the sharp rise in the dollar that has occurred in the past three years."

The widening trade gap has inflicted a heavy toll on American workers whose jobs are tied to exports. The number of such positions declined from 6.2 million to about 5 million between 1980 and 1982, according to a Commerce Department staff report. Commerce estimates that export-related job losses accounted for about 40% of the surge in U.S. unemployment over the 1980-82 period. Bergsten of the Institute for International Economics expects continued worsening of the trade

balance to cost as many as 1.5 million more Americans their jobs by the end of next year.

The overvalued U.S. currency has been crippling Caterpillar Tractor (1982 sales: $6.47 billion) in its battle with Japan's Komatsu for leadership of the worldwide earthmoving-equipment industry. Caterpillar Chairman Lee Morgan told a congressional committee that his firm had tried selling machinery at cost to a large buyer in Iraq, simply to win the business. But, recalled Morgan, "Komatsu came in 37% under that, and we lost the deal."

Meanwhile, the woes of exporters are mirrored by the problems of U.S. firms whose products compete with low-priced imports. Says Alfred Eckes, chairman of the U.S. International Trade Commission, which hears complaints of unfair foreign-trade practices: "The growing challenge of imports to domestic industry is a major story. It is as important to this decade as energy was to the 1970s." Foreign-made goods accounted for 12.5% of consumer purchases in the second quarter of 1983, up from 11.4% in 1980 and just 5.8% in 1960.

The harm done by the excessively strong dollar, however, does not stop at American shores. Since oil prices are set in dollars, much of the world has been unable to cash in fully on last March's drop in OPEC's official price from $34 per bbl. to $29 per bbl. Reason: foreign energy users must spend more of their local currencies to buy the dollars needed to pay for oil. Says Edward Yardeni, chief economist for Prudential-Bache: "Europe and Japan have seen no meaningful decline in oil prices."

The dollar is a particularly heavy burden for Latin American countries, which have more than $320 billion of foreign debt. Latin borrowers must convert more of their cheap currency into expensive U.S. money in order to pay the interest on their loans. "The dollar's strength is implicit in our difficulties," says Mailson Nóbrega, secretary-general of the Brazilian finance ministry.

The biggest beneficiaries of the dollar's strength have been the Japanese. "They are having a field day," says a senior official of the Geneva-based Economic Commission for Europe. While the expensive American currency raises the prices that Japan must pay for oil and other commodities, it also makes Japanese products enticingly cheap. Japan's exports have therefore been booming. In August, the country piled up a $2.45 billion trade surplus with the rest of the world. The U.S., by contrast, ran an August trade deficit of $7.19 billion.

The bulging Japanese surplus has aroused widespread anger and demands for protection against Japanese goods. Such pressure is one of the most dangerous symptoms of America's robust currency. "The strong dollar does two things," says Commerce Secretary Baldrige. "It weakens our exports and it strengthens imports, and that combina-

Trouble at the Credit Union

The last time Congress considered a bill to increase the American contribution to the International Monetary Fund, the measure passed with only a few murmurs of protest. Today, three years after that relatively placid event, a similar proposal has inspired a legislative row and given President Ronald Reagan an annoying political problem. As 13,000 government financial officials and international bankers gathered in Washington last week for the joint annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank, the problem of the dollar and U.S. interest rates shared equal billing with another pressing concern: the deadlock over funds for the IMF.

Congress's new skepticism is a reflection of a growing belief by many Americans that U.S. contributions to the fund will be used to protect American banks from losses on loans to such overextended nations as Brazil and Mexico. The Reagan Administration is now caught between pleasing a skeptical Congress and avoiding the multinational financial catastrophe that could result from a breakdown of the fund. The main losers in all this, the IMF delegates generally agreed, will be the world's developing nations.

Established in 1944 to help member nations cope with immediate financial crises, the fund makes only short-term loans. The IMF is somewhat like an office credit union into which members put their savings to be drawn on when there is a need. The IMF calls its deposits "quotas," and each of its 146 members makes a contribution to a common pool from which it can borrow when it is squeezed for cash to pay its bills.

Lately, however, so many debt-ridden countries have been going to the IMF that the pool's lendable funds are down to about $6 billion from $13 billion at the end of 1982. In February, the finance ministers who form the IMF's policymaking committee met in Washington and proposed to increase the total capital pool by $43 billion. The U.S. was asked to increase its share in the fund by $7.8 billion. With some heavy prodding from the Reagan Administration, the U.S. contribution bill passed the Senate in June. But it ran into trouble in the House, where members on both the right and the left joined forces to defeat it, largely on the grounds that it would bail out the U.S. banks. The measure finally squeaked through in early August with a six-vote majority.

The National Republican Congressional Committee, however, then set its sights on about 20 Democrats who had voted against an amendment that would have denied IMF credits to Communist countries. The G.O.P. committee sent news releases to the home districts of the 20 Democrats accusing the Congressmen of casting a "vote to support Communism." That so enraged House Speaker Tip O'Neill that he demanded a letter of apology from the President. Without one, said O'Neill, the Democratic leader would not name any members of the Senate-House conference committee that must iron out the differences between the Senate and House bills. In addition, Democrat Fernand J. St Germain of Rhode Island, chairman of the House Banking Committee, said that he would bottle up the IMF bill unless the Administration persuades the Republican-controlled Senate to act on an unrelated bill on low-cost housing.

The feeling in Washington is that the President will now have to pay a high political price to have his IMF bill passed. Speaking at the annual meeting last week, Reagan said that Congress's failure to pass the contributions bill would mean "a major disruption of the entire world trading and financial system—an economic nightmare that could plague generations to come."

To ease the organization's cash crisis, IMF Managing Director Jacques de Larosière tried to arrange a loan of about $6 billion from European members and from Saudi Arabia. The loan has been held up, however, because the lenders fear that it would take the pressure off Congress to act. But the loan will probably be agreed upon at a meeting in November. Playing what one IMF aide calls the "last card," the fund decided the week before the annual meeting to suspend negotiations on new loans to needy countries. Even when lending resumes, many nations are likely to find problems. Since 1981 each member has been able to draw 150% of its quota once a year, with a maximum of 450% over three years. The IMF's policymaking committee last week decided that drawings on quotas will be reduced to between 102% and 125% for cash-starved countries, and they must agree to apply tough austerity programs.

tion certainly promotes protectionist sentiment. It makes the job of holding the free-trade line more difficult."

While the Reagan Administration continues to espouse free trade, it has already slapped restrictions on a wide range of foreign products. Washington has set quotas on foreign motorcycles and specialty steel, for example, and has persuaded the Japanese to ship fewer cars to the U.S. "We'd really see protectionism if we didn't do that," asserts Baldrige, "because we'd see it legislated by Congress."

Lawmakers are now considering a spate of bills to protect U.S. companies. The most far-reaching is the so-called domestic-content measure, pushed by the United Auto Workers, which would require foreign automakers to include American parts in cars sold in the U.S. Under the bill, which passed the House last December and was reintroduced when the new Congress took office this year, 90% of the content of imports with annual U.S. sales of 900,000 or more would have to be American made.

To be sure, even the present redoubtable dollar has its supporters. Declares Rimmer de Vries, chief international economist for Morgan Guaranty: "The great strength of the dollar is, on balance, good for us and good for the world. Just look at us! We have strong growth, low inflation, a respected dollar. My God, we are doing something right!"

The currency's clout is certainly a joy to U.S. tourists abroad, and it helps keep down the price of imports, from French wine to Japanese television sets. One Reagan Administration official calculates that gains in the dollar's value have shaved an estimated three to four percentage points off the U.S. inflation rate since 1978.

The dollar, moreover, must be strong to fill its role as a global currency. Since some three-quarters of world commerce is conducted in dollars, a vigorous U.S. currency is vital to international economic stability and a growing volume of trade.

The dollar's swing from record lows to record highs during the past few years has led some economists to wonder whether something is wrong with the international exchange-rate system. The current regime of floating rates evolved haphazardly during the 1970s after the collapse of the monetary agreement that the U.S. and its allies worked out in 1944 in Bretton Woods, N.H.

The Bretton Woods arrangements called for countries to establish fixed exchange rates for their currencies. Nations could adjust them only under extreme conditions. In addition, foreign governments could theoretically redeem any dollars they held for gold, which thus served as an underpinning for the system. But these arrangements came apart in 1971, when the Nixon Administration, faced with the possibility that other nations could demand more gold than the U.S. had, stopped exchanging the metal for dollars. Without gold as an anchor, exchange rates began to float freely in 1973.

International moneymen had hoped that the new floating system would enable currencies to find their proper value in relation to one another and would smooth international trade and finance. But the result has been widening gyrations rather than stable, well-aligned rates.

What is now needed, in the view of some experts, is a system that would be more flexible than Bretton Woods and less volatile than the present regime of freely floating rates. One such arrangement was proposed last month by John Williamson, a senior fellow of the Institute for International Economics. It calls for countries to maintain their exchange rates within a range that would be much broader than the limits set by Bretton Woods, but much narrower than the recent wide oscillations of the dollar. Then, if a currency's value got too far out of line, that country would be obliged to take measures like raising or lowering interest rates to get it back within bounds.

Last summer the U.S. joined a four-nation effort that pumped some $3 billion into foreign-exchange markets to buy marks, francs and other currencies in an attempt to stem the dollar's rise. Washington contributed $254 million to that intervention, which was tiny in comparison with the $30 billion Washington marshaled to defend the staggering dollar in 1978. But the intervention, the largest of its kind since then, had little sustained effect, and the dollar is now at approximately the same level it was in early August.

Economists are divided over the future course of the U.S. currency. Most insist that the dollar is unlikely to fall much any time soon. Data Resources' Eckstein expects the dollar to drop at an annual rate of 3% to 4% over the next several years. "Those are small changes," he says. But a few economists predict that the U.S. currency could fall just as rapidly as it has risen. Stephen Maris, former chief economic adviser to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris, warns that when the dollar does drop, it may come crashing down. He believes that the huge American balance of payments deficits could lead to a run on the dollar, perhaps as early as next year. Says he: "The cash can flow out just as easily as it flowed in when the market panics."

The foreign-exchange value of the dollar is more than a narrow concern for economists and speculators. The dollar links U.S. economic policies to individuals as varied as Brazilian coffee growers, German steelmakers and American car buyers. A strong American currency is important for the U.S. and for the world. But today's overvalued dollar is almost as bad as the undervalued one of the late '70s. Moreover, the dollar's wild swings during the past four years point up an underlying weakness of the international monetary system. —*By John Greenwald. Reported by Bernard Baumohl/New York and Gisela Bolte/Washington*

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Merging to Build New Empires

Smokestack America seeks strength through size

Only a decade ago such big deals would never have been seriously considered for fear that Government antitrust officials would stop them dead. But the merger plans announced last week by two pairs of leaders in the railroad and steel industries have a good chance of winning Washington's approval. With Smokestack America in a period of decline and retrenchment, the Reagan Administration tends to look favorably on consolidations that could make weak companies stronger. In addition, stiff competition from abroad has made the antitrust laws increasingly irrelevant for many important industries.

Trying to Survive in Steel

No part of Smokestack America is sicker than the steel industry, which lost $3.2 billion last year. Since the late 1970s, the number of blue-collar workers in the industry has plunged from 340,000 to 173,000. Formidable foreign competitors, led by the Japanese, have captured nearly 20% of the U.S. market. Doubts are rising as never before about America's ability to remain a major steelmaking power.

Two of the industry's biggest companies have decided that the only way to survive the slide is to get together and streamline their operations. Through a swap of stocks valued at $770 million, Republic Steel of Cleveland, the fourth largest U.S. producer, intends to merge with Pittsburgh's Jones & Laughlin, which ranks third in the industry and is a subsidiary of LTV Corp., a Dallas-based corporation that also manufactures aircraft parts and rockets for the military. Together, Republic and Jones & Laughlin control 15.9% of the steel market, and the combined company, to be called LTV Steel, will stand second only to U.S. Steel, which has 17.2%. The new firm will be particularly powerful in the market for steel used in oil-drilling equipment.

In a joint statement, LTV Chairman Raymond Hay and Republic Chairman Bradley Jones said that no antitrust problems should arise from Washington because the merger would create "a stronger, more efficient steel company, better able to compete in a new world-market environment." Jones will head LTV Steel, which will be headquartered in Cleveland. Some Republic employees suggested in jest that the new company be called Bradley Jones & Laughlin.

The marriage proposal is a triumph of hope over experience. Republic lost $239 million last year on sales of $2.7 billion, while Jones & Laughlin dropped $299 million on sales of $3 billion. In the first six months of this year, the two firms lost an additional $219 million. The new company will undoubtedly cut back and consolidate overlapping operations to save money. In Cleveland, for example, both Republic and Jones & Laughlin have plants that turn out flat rolled steel for cars and appliances, but LTV Steel will not need all the production capability of those two mills. Some industry experts estimate that 20% or more of the company's potential annual steelmaking capacity of 24.6 million tons could be shut down. Observed William Stephens, an analyst who follows LTV for the Rauscher Pierce Refsnes securities firm in Dallas: "This merger won't be one plus one equals two. It will be one plus one equals 1½ or 1¾." Stephens predicted, however, that a slimmed-down company would be able to return to profitability.

Plant closings would threaten 64,500 employees at Republic and Jones & Laughlin, of whom 17,000 are already on layoff. United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride said that his union might oppose the merger if "adequate provisions" were not made for the "job security and well-being" of the workers. But many employees were feeling at least a temporary sense of relief, particularly at Republic, where rumors had been swirling for a year that the firm could fold at any time. Said one Republic worker last week: "If we don't merge, maybe there won't be any jobs at all." U.S. antitrust officials may come to the same conclusion when they review the deal in the coming weeks.

Working on a Bigger Railroad

The Santa Fe and Southern Pacific railroads have been rough-and-tumble competitors since the 1880s, when they hauled carloads of cattle, sheep, grain and fortune-seeking passengers across the vast expanses of the American Southwest. Last week the two old rivals said that they would join forces to form the third largest railroad in the U.S., with 26,200 miles of track. If the $6.3 billion merger is completed as planned by the end of the year, only the Burlington Northern railroad (28,900 miles) and CSX (26,400) will be bigger. The combined Santa Fe–Southern Pacific network will stretch from Chicago in the North to New Orleans in the South to Portland in the West.

The new company will be not just a railroad, but a business empire. Over the years both lines have aggressively diversified. Chicago-based Santa Fe Industries (1982 revenues: $3.16 billion) has gas wells, coal and uranium mines and a forest-products division. The company is one of the largest U.S. producers of heavy crude oil. San Francisco–based Southern Pacific (1982 revenues: $3.1 billion) operates petroleum pipelines and leases executive aircraft, truck fleets, computers, mining machinery and communications equipment. With huge holdings of farm land, timberland and urban real estate, Southern Pacific is the largest private landlord in California.

The company also owns the nation's only operational coal-slurry pipeline, which runs 273 miles between Arizona and Nevada. The pipeline allows coal that has been mixed with water to be transported swiftly and cheaply. Though Southern Pacific and other companies have wanted to build numerous slurry pipelines, most railroads have opposed the projects as a threat to the lucrative business of shipping coal by train. Lobbying efforts by the railroads, along with rail labor unions and farmers, helped persuade the House to defeat last week, by a vote of 235 to 182, a bill that would have allowed slurry companies to build pipelines across private property if the landowners were compensated. The decision was a severe blow to the future of the pipelines.

Santa Fe and Southern Pacific see their union as the best way to compete with two other big Western railroads that were built up through mergers: Burlington Northern and Union Pacific. Says Southern Pacific Chairman Benjamin Biaggini: "It looks as if there isn't going to be a place in the West for smaller systems that don't go everywhere and do everything." Santa Fe and Southern Pacific intend to become more efficient by abandoning duplicate routes and pooling equipment. The combined 57,000-member work force of the two railroads will shrink, but probably through attrition rather than layoffs.

Santa Fe tried to take over Southern Pacific in 1980, but doubts about getting Government approval and disputes over who would run the company caused the deal to collapse. New talks began a few months ago between Biaggini and Santa Fe Chairman John Schmidt, who says that "negotiations suddenly got hot last Friday, and we worked it out over the weekend." Biaggini, 67, conceding that "it's time now for me to go," intends to retire, and Schmidt will run the new corporation from Chicago. An ambitious executive who grew up in a blighted Chicago neighborhood and once sold peanuts, baby pictures and encyclopedias, Schmidt is considering an effort to buy Conrail, the big Government-owned Eastern system, and link it to the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe. That grand plan would put Schmidt in charge of the largest U.S. railroad and the first transcontinental line owned by a single company. —*By Charles P. Alexander. Reported by Lee Griggs/Chicago and Russell Leavitt/Los Angeles*

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Mournful Music

Baldwin goes bankrupt

For more than 100 years Cincinnati's Baldwin-United (1982 revenues: $3.6 billion) made sweet music by sticking mainly to the business it knew best, manufacturing pianos. Then in 1968 the company began dabbling in financial services with the $16 million purchase of a Denver bank. That was the beginning of a 14-year buying spree that put Baldwin in businesses ranging from insurance to trading stamps. But the firm stretched itself too far. Last week, after stalling lenders for six months, Baldwin filed for reorganization under Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy laws.

The architect of Baldwin's growth was former President Morley Thompson, who began selling pianos door to door after graduating from the Harvard Business School in 1950. Thompson was a wizard at shifting corporate funds around to keep taxes low and raise cash for new purchases. In January 1978 Baldwin acquired United Corp., an investment firm, and in October 1981 the company shelled out $367 million for Sperry & Hutchinson, the Green Stamps business.

Baldwin's hottest financial product has been single-premium deferred annuities. These accumulate untaxed interest until the depositor begins withdrawing the money. Baldwin sold $3.7 billion worth of annuities during the past three years with promises of up to 15½% interest. But the firm has been earning much less than that on its own investments because of falling rates. Additional costly problems arose at MGIC Investment, the mortgage-guaranty company Baldwin acquired in March 1982 for $1.17 billion. MGIC's profits fell 21% last year.

HUGH PATRICK BROWN

Palmieri

Troubles became clear last March, when Baldwin announced it was unable to pay $440 million in short-term debt. Baldwin negotiated a tide-me-over plan with its lenders, and Thompson was replaced in May by Victor Palmieri, the corporate-rescue specialist who had revived Penn Central. Said Palmieri last week: "Things at Baldwin were more confused than anyone could have imagined. A video-game designer would have had a hard time matching the company's organization chart."

Baldwin's difficulties mean that its annuity holders will have to wait at least three years before being able to withdraw all their funds, but Palmieri aims to give them their money back, plus market-rate interest. Most of Baldwin's 165,000 policies, which average $25,000, are nest eggs for retired people. ■

MARK KAUFFMAN

Harvesting time at the soft-drink company's Sterling Vineyards in California's Napa Valley

Vintage Deal

Seagram's buys Coke's wine

Coca-Cola's latest annual report contains a two-page picture of a family simultaneously enjoying the company's products. They are drinking Coca-Cola, Tab and Sprite, pouring Minute Maid orange juice and sipping wine, while watching the Columbia Pictures movie *Tootsie*. If that scene is re-created next year, something will be missing: the wine. Last week Coca-Cola (1982 sales: $6.2 billion) announced plans to sell its wine business to distiller Joseph E. Seagram & Sons for more than $200 million in cash.

When Coca-Cola began selling wine in 1977, the industry expected its consumer-marketing savvy to propel its brands to the top. Beginning with the purchase of Taylor Wine in New York State, it created a division called the Wine Spectrum and then added the West Coast's Sterling Vineyards and Monterey Vineyard to its basket of wines. Coca-Cola shook up the industry with an advertising campaign boasting that its Taylor California Cellars was preferred to competing brands, which it identified by name. Sales grew smartly, up 17% last year.

But that was not enough for Coca-Cola Chairman Roberto C. Goizueta. Even though the Wine Spectrum had 6.3% of the market for domestic wines, it showed no signs of cutting into the lead of durable E. & J. Gallo Winery, which commands 27.7%. Privately held Gallo was reducing prices and boosting advertising to maintain its market share. Making matters worse for Coca-Cola, demand for wine was slack during all of last year and the first quarter of this year. While Coca-Cola earns a return of 10% to 15% on soft drinks and about 10% on Columbia Pictures, the return on its wine business was below 5%.

At the same time that Coca-Cola was thinking about getting out of wines, Seagram's (fiscal 1982 sales: $2.8 billion) was trying to figure out how to expand its wine business, which includes the Paul Masson brand. Its distilled liquor sales have been flat or falling, in part because Americans are drinking more wine. Former Bendix Executive Mary E. Cunningham, who joined the company in 1981 as a vice president of strategic planning, presented a report last year suggesting that Seagram's could reap larger profits in wine. The study mentioned three potential acquisitions, one of which was the Wine Spectrum. When Seagram's began hearing industry talk that the Wine Spectrum might be available, it approached Coca-Cola to express its interest. After the formal offer was made on Sept. 19, the deal was swiftly wrapped up at New York City's Regency Hotel. The acquisition of the Wine Spectrum instantly propels Seagram's into the No. 2 position in domestic wine, with 11.2% of the market.

Industry watchers generally approved the move. Said Kidder, Peabody Analyst Roy Burry: "Combined with its already substantial wine interests, the buy will give Seagram's the critical mass of volume needed to market and distribute wines effectively." Paying off Coca-Cola will not be difficult. Seagram's plans to pay the $200 million purchase price in part with $120 million in annual dividends from its 50.3 million shares of Du Pont stock; the distiller acquired most of its 21% stake in Du Pont, now worth $2.6 billion, as a result of the 1981 battle to take over Conoco.

In the California vineyards, where harvesting was under way last week, Coca-Cola's departure from the business was quietly welcomed by competitors, who resented the company's aggressive marketing tactics. "Coke wasn't a gentleman in a gentleman's industry," said Emanuel Goldman, a partner of Montgomery Securities in San Francisco. It is expected that the tough advertising that Coca-Cola fostered will probably end. Meanwhile, wine prices are likely to start increasing, largely because of a predicted small 1983 harvest. Seagram's may be getting deeper into wine at the perfect moment. ■

Thunderbird. The way it looks...

improves the way it drives.

Thunderbird's design has much to do with the way it holds the road. Thunderbird's fluid lines were tested over 500 hours in a wind tunnel to make the shape of the car contribute to cornering and handling stability.

The design of the front.

Underneath the integrated front bumper is an air dam. It works with the wind to keep the weight of the car pressing down on the front tires. And the more a tire presses to the road, the better it holds the road.

The design of the doors.

Thunderbird's doors curve into the roof. This smooths and quiets the airflow, improving aerodynamic efficiency.

The design of the rear.

The trunk lid incorporates another aerodynamic shape called a spoiler which further reduces "lift" and aerodynamic drag. (P.S. Underneath this lid, you'll find a trunk larger than you'd ever think possible in a car this smooth.)

Best-built American cars.

When we say "Quality is Job 1," we are talking about more than a commitment. We are talking about results. An independent survey proves Ford makes the best-built American cars. The survey measured owner-reported problems during the first three months of ownership of 1983 cars designed and built in the U.S.

Pure Thunderbird.

Thunderbird. See how it moves. Consider the shape. It is all one. And it is uniquely Thunderbird.

Have you driven a Ford... lately?

Ford

Get it together — Buckle up.

Director-Choreographer Bennett with cast on stage as *A Chorus Line* becomes the longest-running show in Broadway history

People

"All of Broadway is here tonight," said Producer Joseph Papp, and he was just about right. After eight years of high-stepping exuberance, Papp's *A Chorus Line* last week became the longest-running show in Broadway history, eclipsing the musical *Grease*. A spectacular 3,389th performance featured 332 past and present top-hatted cast members (out of a total 457) from all of the Broadway and other companies. Preparations took three months. Director-Choreographer **Michael Bennett,** 40, restaged the show for the anniversary, moving the various players in and out of their roles and gathering everyone for an untoppable 332-strutters-strong finale. Cost of the gala: $500,000, quite a bit for a one-night stand, but affordable considering that over the years more than 22 million fans have seen *A Chorus Line*, paying $260 million for the pleasure

The champagne flowed to strains of Vivaldi. Waiters in white tie and tails ministered to elegant patrons seated in rich red velvet banquettes. Behind them, murals of buxom nudes tiptoed into postimpressionist waters. An evening at Maxim's, of course. But this was not Paris. It was, of all bourgeois things, Maxim's de Pékin, which opened last week in China's capital, one of several copies of the Parisian restaurant now owned by Designer **Pierre Cardin,** 61. Before East could meet West, 15 Chinese spent months learning the art and preparation of *haute cuisine* in Paris, and more than twelve tons of wine and other delectables were flown to the mainland. Said Cardin: "I am using capitalism to serve socialism." But the restaurant will have to rely heavily on foreigners living in Peking because citizens of the People's Republic are forbidden to go, except with special government permission.

■

As Robert Louis Stevenson saw him, **James Durie,** the Master of Ballantrae, dressed entirely in black and had the bearing "of one who was a fighter and accustomed to command." His brother Henry "had the essence of a gentleman, but . . . he fell short of the ornamental." What is more, the family was a bit hard-pressed for funds. Something has been lost in the translation. As elegantly portrayed by **Michael York,** 41, and **Richard Thomas,** 32, in a three-hour CBS-TV version to be aired next year, James and Henry seem to have been modeled less on the hardy Duries of 18th century Scotland than the court dandies of Louis XIV's Versailles. Hoot, laddies, can ye no swallow those simpers, at least?

—By Janice Castro

York and Thomas, all fopped up

Restaurateur Cardin with local staff of waiters at the opening of Maxim's de Pékin

On the Record

A.M. Rosenthal, editorial chief of the New York *Times*, on the fact that someone had filed his name as a presidential candidate with the Federal Election Commission: "Were it not for the fact that I am excluded by reason of my Canadian birth, it does not strike me as a bad idea. The country could search far and do worse. A constitutional amendment would solve the problem."

Dick Butler, supervisor of American League umpires: "If you took three words out of the English language, most players and umpires would be mute."

Putting Lids on Medicare Costs

A new federal program tries to make hospitals more efficient

In recent years the nation's Medicare system has been moving on a high-speed course toward financial disaster. Inflation, the high cost of new medical technology and the rapid growth of the nation's elderly population are draining the resources of the program, which pays the hospital expenses of people 65 and over. By 1988, if there is no letup in the rise in medical costs, Medicare's $8.8 billion hospital insurance trust fund will be depleted. By 1995 it would be in the red by as much as $400 billion. Last March, in a desperate effort to stem the hemorrhaging of Medicare dollars, Congress, working with the Administration, approved a major and controversial reform of the program. The new rules went into effect last week. They are, says Health and Human Services Secretary Margaret Heckler, "the most important improvement in the history of Medicare."

The reform was designed to correct a fundamental flaw in the system: the Government had set no limit on what it would pay for hospital care. "The incentive was perverse," explains Carolyne Davis, head of the Health Care Financing Administration, which runs Medicare. "The more hospitals spent, the more we paid." The new regulations place a ceiling on the amount a hospital receives for treating each ailment. Upon admission, Medicare patients will be assigned to one of 467 newly defined "diagnosis-related groups," or DRGs, based on the nature of their illness. Each DRG carries a specific rate of reimbursement. If the hospital treats the patient for less, it can keep the profit; if it charges more, it must absorb the loss.

Reimbursement rates will be adjusted annually to reflect inflation and medical advances, and will vary regionally to accommodate the higher costs of running hospitals in urban areas. (The rate for a simple appendectomy in Chicago: $3,825; the same operation in Lawton, Okla.: $2,773.) Psychiatric hospitals, long-term care facilities and rehabilitation centers are exempt from the new regulations. So are hospitals in Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts, which have their own cost-containment programs.

To ease the adjustment of hospitals to the new arrangement, which is called the prospective payment plan, the Government will phase it in over three years. In the first year, Medicare reimbursements for each patient will be based 75% on the hospital's usual cost for treating the ailment in question and 25% on the new federal rate. One year later, the formula will be 50/50. After three years, hospitals will be reimbursed entirely on the basis of the federal rate.

Medicare currently accounts for 40% of revenues at the average American hospital, and most of these institutions will be forced to become more efficient. The American Hospital Association has been running seminars in recent months to teach administrators how to cope with the new rules. Though the A.H.A. generally supports the regulations, it also believes that they will radically alter the nature of care. Predicts A.H.A. President Alex McMahon: "Hospitals may tend to specialize in the services they perform most efficiently." In areas where there are too many maternity beds, for example, some hospitals may drop their obstetrics units. Hospitals that lose money on such complicated procedures as open-heart surgery may refer cardiac patients elsewhere.

For doctors, the new rules mean a crash course in the one aspect of medicine that most never learned in medical school: finance. Over the past few months, hospitals have been distributing pamphlets to physicians, detailing the exact cost of every test, operation and medication, and offering instructions on how to cut out unnecessary expenses. Says Ben Bronstein, communications director of the Hospital Association of Pennsylvania: "Doctors are going to have to bite the bullet and ask themselves if they really need all those tests." Physicians who routinely order nose-to-toes X rays or prescribe the latest and most costly antibiotic may be taken to task by department heads. Those who refuse to repent, warns A.H.A. President McMahon, may eventually lose their admitting privileges.

Nearly everyone recognizes the need for greater efficiency in U.S. hospitals. The challenge is to achieve this without jeopardizing patients. The American Medical Association fears that some hospitals will cut back on vital services or refuse to admit those who cannot be treated profitably. Part of the problem, notes Karen Davis, a health economist at Johns Hopkins, is that there is no allowance for the complexity of a case: "For example, you may have two patients with a broken hip, but one could have senile dementia and need a high level of nursing care." Under the new Medicare laws, hospitals would be reimbursed the same amount for both patients. Categorizing each patient into a single DRG may also present problems. Patients over 75, points out Gerontologist Laurence Rubenstein of U.C.L.A., "have an average of eight to ten chronic health problems." Rubenstein and others also worry lest patients be sent home prematurely, only to return under another DRG. This, he says, would cost the Government more than if patients had been thoroughly cared for during their initial stay.

Perhaps the greatest concern is that hospitals that are unable to turn a profit under Medicare guidelines will shift their costs to patients covered by private insurers. Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Kansas have already headed off that possibility by establishing their own statewide prospective payment plans, to begin in January. Other private insurers are expected to follow suit.

No one knows how much will be saved under the new program. The similar plans now in force in four Eastern states have kept the inflation rate for hospital costs 2% to 4% below the national average. Even if the program does save $100 billion by 1995, as the Congressional Budget Office has projected, the Medicare trust fund would still be $300 billion in the red. An HHS advisory council is now looking into more radical surgery to save the ailing system. The prognosis, says former Indiana Governor Otis Bowen, who heads the council, "is very bleak," and the treatment "will be very painful." —*By Claudia Wallis. Reported by Anne Constable/Washington and Sheila Gribben/Chicago*

CYNTHIA JOHNSON

Margaret Heckler visits patients at a Virginia nursing home

The challenge: to cut costs without jeopardizing health care.

Giving Rebirth to the *Monitor*

A new editor brightens the look and style of a venerable daily

As she stood on the receiving line at her 1950 wedding to Marshall Field IV, whose family owned the Chicago *Sun-Times*, the debutante whispered hopefully to one of the paper's editors, "Now you have got to give me a job." But it was not until 15 years later, after she had divorced Field and headed north to Alaska in a station wagon, that she at last broke into the ranks of working journalists, as librarian of the Anchorage *Daily News* at a wage of $2 an hour. She was not impelled by financial needs; she just had her mind set upon having a career. The next year, she married Lawrence Fanning, a former Field deputy, and together they bought the Anchorage paper.

After his death in 1971 left her as owner, editor and publisher of the tiny (20 employees), unprofitable *Daily News*, Katherine Fanning proved her mettle. She guided the paper to a 1976 Pulitzer Prize for exposing the statewide influence of the Teamsters Union and weathered a succession of financial crises before selling control, at "a modest profit," to the California-based McClatchy chain. So when Fanning left Alaska in May to take on the job of editor of the Boston-based *Christian Science Monitor*—making it the most prestigious top-editor post in American newspapering now held by a woman—fellow news executives predicted that she would bring her brand of vigorous change to the venerable (founded 1908) but stodgy daily. The *Monitor* commands an elite following for its international coverage and political analysis and enjoys unusual access to news figures because of its reputation for fairness. But the paper has been losing circulation, and perhaps influence, for more than a decade; it runs a $10 million annual deficit.

In her first few months, Fanning has quietly shuffled editors, pushed for more investigative reporting and sharpened the editorials. This week her reshaping of the *Monitor* takes an even more dramatic turn: starting with Monday's edition, the once gray tabloid will sport a radically revamped layout and a new and bigger type face, and its number of daily pages will jump from 28 to 40. Page One will carry several stories, including a feature to be typeset with ragged right edges; the second page will become primarily an expanded index; the rest of the paper will be structured into distinct sections, each with its opening cover page. Says Fanning: "We are attempting to fit into the fast pace of life. People cannot pore through a paper these days."

An urgent sense of timeliness is not normally associated with the staff of the *Monitor*, which has had a reputation for keeping 8-to-4:30 bankers' hours—nor, for that matter, with the act of receiving the paper, which is distributed almost entirely by mail. The *Monitor*, moreover, is not a commercial venture that must answer to the marketplace but the official voice of the prosperous First Church of Christ, Scientist. The founder, Mary Baker Eddy, declared that Christian Science had a religious duty to publish the paper. All the senior editors are Christian Scientists (Fanning converted in 1965, in the wake of her divorce). So are most of the reporters. Representatives of the church's board watch over the paper, and staff members admit that church values are edited into the coverage. Chief among subjects the *Monitor* down-plays: medicine, which the church rejects in favor of prayer.

FRIEDMAN—BLACK STAR

Fanning at her office: from $2 an hour to center stage

"I do not believe in tradition for tradition's sake."

Fanning's editorial reconception of the paper, aided by Design Consultant Robert Lockwood, who has also advised the Chicago *Sun-Times*, Dallas *Morning News* and Baltimore *Sun*, was carried out in tandem with an aggressive circulation and advertising plan developed by John Hoagland, the paper's chief business executive. One key decision was to drop the paper's regional sections and publish a single national edition.

The two executives were given a mandate for change by the church's board, which has grown discontented with mounting losses and, even more, the drop in U.S. circulation from 240,000 in the late 1960s to 150,000 last year (the *Monitor* also distributes a weekly edition to 16,000 subscribers). The paper's readers tend to be faithful, but they have been dying off without being replaced: 39% are 65 or older, while only 28% are under 45. Admits Hoagland: "We should not take a loyal readership for granted." The age of the *Monitor's* following is in turn a factor in discouraging advertisers, even though the readership is affluent (median household income: $32,000). Thus the paper now contains only about 25% advertising, compared with up to 60% in many other dailies, a level that Hoagland suggests the *Monitor* could some day reach. Says he: "Circulation and advertising should keep pace with the quality of the editorial content."

The new regime is not altogether popular with the staff. Some *Monitor* reporters complain that the resources being spent on redesign and business promotion are diverted from more substantial news coverage. Fanning has also offended some veterans by diminishing the roles of elderly *Monitor* stars, including Godfrey Sperling Jr., 68, who was shifted from Washington bureau chief to columnist. More fundamental, some staff members fret that the paper's highbrow tone may be lowered. In the cultural section, for example, Fanning plans to give added space and emphasis to leisure and recreation.

Among her editorial peers around the country, Fanning is noted as a voice for restraint. She is chairman of the ethics committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and during a panel discussion of privacy issues at A.S.N.E.'s convention in May, she said that "the public reaction to the press is finally getting through, and it may lead to a more humane journalism." Says Publisher James Hoge of the *Sun-Times*: "Fanning is always asking a series of questions to get your opinion on this or that. Yet she does not edit a paper by public opinion polls, but by her conscience." At gatherings of news executives, Fanning seemingly commands perhaps more attention than any other woman except Katherine Graham, owner of the Washington *Post*.

Weeks before Fanning was chosen to run a paper entirely on her own merits, her son Frederick Field and his half brother Marshall Field V put the paper where she never got a job, the *Sun-Times*, up for sale. The decision "saddened" Fanning. But she reacted in a way that might serve as her axiom in giving rebirth to the *Monitor*. Said she: "I hate to see traditions die. But I do not believe in tradition for tradition's sake." —*By William A. Henry III.*

Reported by Richard Hornik/Boston

COVER STORY

The Bold Quest For Quality

The nation's public schools are shaping up

The 19 students in a junior English class are discussing a George Eliot novel, which they have read in the three days between orientation day and the start of school. Five students are debating with the teacher about the time frame of the novel, as well as the use of first-person narrative. Near by, a class of sophomores listens intently as the teacher fires off volleys of French. Not a word of English is spoken. The same spirit of curiosity and dedication seems to flow through other rooms at Lincoln Park High School in Chicago, where students from the ghetto mingle with those from glass palaces on the lakefront. Says French Teacher Maureen Breen: "Something is very definitely happening in the air once these kids walk through those doors. We can all feel it."

Kansas City threw a huge pep rally last month, complete with a 25-member song-and-dance troupe. Yet there were no football players proudly strutting through tissue-paper arches. The head cheerleader was president of the Chamber of Commerce. The team being hailed: the city's public school teachers.

Johnson Elementary School in Benton Harbor, Mich., is a one-story building that sits a few hundred yards east of Interstate 94, the heavily traveled highway between Chicago and Detroit. The impoverished school district does not have a sign to put on the building. But in the small lobby, which doubles as the school's library, there is an award from the Michigan Department of Education congratulating the school's fourth-graders for scoring 20% higher than their predecessors on a state assessment test. Beside the plaque, in bold construction-paper letters, is the school's motto: "We demand excellence."

As 44.3 million students settle down to another school year, a growing number are finding—and responding to—a new demand for excellence in the classroom. More required courses and tougher graduation requirements. No-frills curriculums featuring basic skills. Old-fashioned homework and computer literacy. Rigor without the customary mortis.

Once again, Americans have decided that good public schools are essential for the public good. Parents, educators, business people and politicians everywhere are forming grass-roots coalitions to raise standards and improve the quality of instruction from kindergarten to senior year. Their vigor is bringing a new vitality to education, the institution that has been called America's secular religion. Says Terrel Bell, U.S. Secretary of Education: "There is currently in progress the greatest, most far-reaching and, I believe, the most promising reform and renewal of education we have seen since the turn of the century."

1885 schoolhouse on Long Island

Report cards on the nation's public schools have been dismal for a decade: teachers cannot teach; students cannot, or will not, learn. The shortcomings of the schools have been documented by lower Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, a national high school dropout rate of some 25%, the shrinking elite of students taking calculus and physics, the proliferation of remedial courses in colleges and in businesses to repair the damage. One study in the '70s found that 30% of 18-year-olds (47% of black youths) were functionally illiterate, unable to read or follow a set of simple directions.

Over the past year a flurry of reports have chronicled a nation with declining basic skills, foundering will and a diminishing ability to compete with a hi-tech rival like Japan. In May, the National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE) stirred the most concern when it reported that the U.S. was "at risk" from "a rising tide of mediocrity." Its judgment: standards are too low, the school day is too short, teachers are paid too little and education is too far down the list of national priorities. The report's ringing indictment: "If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war."

Children in Columbus, N.C., are out at 7:30 to catch

Two boys head home at the end of a day of

What the NCEE failed to report, however, is that the tide of mediocrity has already begun to ebb. There are plenty of weaknesses still, but excellence has once again become part of the agenda in hundreds of school districts across the country. Statistics only sketch out the dimensions of the turnaround. Over the past three years, 53% of the 16,000 school districts nationwide have increased the number of credits they require in such core subjects as English, science and math; 38% more will upgrade their standards by 1985. During this same period, 69% of

the bus: excellence is on the agenda again in hundreds of districts across the country

classes in Madison, Wis.

Young students file into Idlewild Elementary in Memphis

school systems have launched efforts to increase daily attendance. No fewer than 20 states have passed tougher certification laws, with the goal of making sure that a teacher has mastered basic skills before ever entering a classroom.

What is remarkable is that all this activity comes at a time when student enrollment is shrinking and funding is scarce. In hard-pressed Michigan, for instance, where the recession lingers (last month's unemployment: 13.4%), some schools almost had to close in the 1982-83 school year for lack of funds; during the same year 90% of all school tax renewal proposals were approved, a good showing under the circumstances. Poll after poll has disclosed that the public would pay higher taxes for better schools. David Gardner, chairman of the NCEE, now admits, "I hadn't realized how deep and wide the concern was. This is a classic example of why this country works."

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching last month released a thoughtful study that rejects the notion that public education has failed. After spending a total of 30 months compiling observations of high schools across the nation, the report's author concluded that the best American high schools, which educate 10% to 15% of all students, are the world's finest. Says Ernest Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation and former U.S. Commissioner of Education under Jimmy Carter: "School is in a very real sense a mirror of its community. Time and time again, we saw that community support or community conditions were shaping the school. So, in a very real sense, the report card on the school is a report card on the nation."

Second-graders in Benton Harbor, Mich., practicing required basic skills like writing numbers from 1 to 50

KEVIN HORAN

An Albuquerque elementary student works on his Spanish

Van Dixon of Dallas uses the most basic method of all to add and subtract

No wonder that education is becoming a hot presidential campaign issue. Ronald Reagan was the first to sense the opportunity, demanding tougher standards and extra, or "merit," pay for outstanding teachers. But Reagan sees little role for the Federal Government or federal dollars in the quest for excellence. Indeed, the Administration got Congress to cut back 10% on public school funding over the past three years, and only recently stopped vowing to dismantle the Department of Education.

Caught off guard by Reagan, the potential Democratic candidates are trying to devise reform plans that will score points with voters. Walter Mondale has called for an $11 billion annual infusion of federal money for, among other things, a national $4.5 billion fund for excellence that would grant sums to schools to help them improve instruction. Senator Ernest Hollings wants $14 billion, in part to give certain qualified public school teachers $5,000 raises. Senator John Glenn's $4 billion plan would include loans to math and science majors that would be forgiven for students who go on to teach those subjects.

While the presidential candidates talk of their plans, the real leadership is coming from the state level: from Governors, from local superintendents, from business people. In a spirit of enlightened self-interest, state officials equate better schools with healthier economies. Some 45 states have put together task forces to consider school reform. In Mississippi, traditionally one of the educationally benighted states, Governor William Winter got the legislature to pass a $69 million bill last December to improve teacher pay and to implement compulsory attendance for the first time since the 1950s. Florida Governor Bob Graham's $228 million school-reform package, passed in June, will toughen student requirements, provide summer institutes for classroom teachers, buy computers for classes, and provide money to attract math and science teachers. Governor James Hunt of North Carolina, who led the Task Force on Education for Economic Growth and who has done part-time teaching during his gubernatorial tenure, has spearheaded everything from an elementary

school reading program to the North Carolina School of Science and Mathematics, a public boarding school for the state's most gifted students.

In a sense, the prophets of doom and the harbingers of progress are both right about the public schools. The American education system is so complex and diverse that signs of hope mingle with tokens of disaster even within the same schools. Says Theodore Sizer, former headmaster of Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., and head of a new study on high schools: "You find marvelous things going on and not so marvelous things going on." Any report card on the public schools would have to consider at least four major areas: curriculum and standards, teaching, funding and community support. In all of them, there is cause for rejoicing as well as alarm.

The Curriculum: Shows Progress

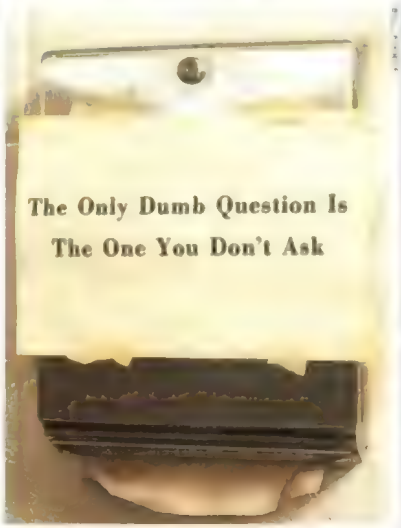
There is no question that expectations for curriculum and standards dropped over the past 20 years. In many schools, the art of diagramming sentences went the way of *Wuthering Heights*, and survey literature courses were transformed into cotton-candy electives like "Expressions of Love." Nationally, average scores on the verbal portion of SATs dropped more than 50 points from 1963 to 1980. A California survey found that many math and science texts now in use are ten to 20 years old. One book still used as a reference in a second-grade classroom near Cape Canaveral even tips off students: "Soon we may land on the moon. Watch for it."

Lowered expectations affect students at all levels. Says Northwestern University Sociologist Christopher Jencks: "What we are seeing is not so much a decline in basic skills as a decline in advanced skills." During the past few years, 13 states, from California to Florida, have sent a strong message to high schools by demanding more requirements of freshmen entering state universities; some have demanded higher grades as well. Says University of Chicago Education Professor Philip Jackson: "Any kid who can follow the intricacies of an N.F.L. football game can follow the turns of plot in a Jane Austen novel or a Dickens tale."

School districts have devised a variety of imaginative and promising strategies to challenge the unchallenged and to brighten the best. New York State is considering a proposal that would require foreign language proficiency by ninth grade. Tennessee has approved a program that will award "honors diplomas" to students who voluntarily complete an accelerated course of study with strong emphasis on English, math, science, arts and foreign languages. Louisiana has opened a residential state school in Natchitoches for students gifted in math, science and the arts, modeled on North Carolina's boarding school. In Iowa, where only 1,500 students took calculus last year (but 17,500 elected driver's education), the state is instituting an incentive program. Students who take upper-level math and science courses will be eligible for a special, one-time tuition grant of $500 to attend any college in the state. Furthermore, the Iowa legislature has approved bounties to school districts: $25 for each student who enrolls in physics, chemistry or advanced math courses, and $50 for each first-year foreign language student.

While the suburban schools got lots of credit for innovation and honors programs two decades ago, urban schools now appear to be on the cutting edge of reform. One reason, says Carnegie's Boyer, may be that many parents in ghetto areas fight fiercely for better schools for their children. The Council of the Great City Schools, a coalition of 30 of the nation's largest urban school systems, reports that 27 of these predominantly minority systems have had increases in elementary school reading and mathematics test scores during the past five years.

To be sure, some of the progress came about because there was nowhere to go but up. But much of the improvement in inner-city schools is due to the energy and dedication of strong leaders who are imposing standards of discipline as well as excellence. Their strategy: make the students believe they can succeed.



Sign in a high school science lab

Getting rid of "mealy-mouthed wimps."

When Alonzo Crim, 55, took over as superintendent of Atlanta's schools in 1973, the first year that a court-ordered desegregation program went into effect, only 30% of students were reading at the national norm. Says Crim: "We had to focus on reading. Handling the language arts is perhaps the most fundamental building block to the whole educational program. If you can't read, write, speak and listen, you won't do anything else well." In June, Crim announced that the average student in kindergarten through tenth grade was reading at the national level; math achievement was slightly above the norm. The dropout rate last year was 4% (down from 12% in 1973), and the average daily attendance was 94% (up from 86%). Says Crim proudly: "Our kids voted with their feet. They stayed in school."

Before Robert Alioto, 49, arrived in San Francisco in 1975 from Yonkers, N.Y., the school district was considered unmanageable. The superintendent's office did not even know how many teachers were at work. Alioto's first success was putting the district's finances in order. Then he began cutting down on the bureaucracy: of the 100 or so administrative jobs in 1975, only 42 are left. In 1978 he closed 30 schools because enrollment had dropped, a move that earned him many enemies in the community. Nor did he win friends among teachers by laying off 1,197 of them in 1979. Says Alioto: "Too many people in education are mealy-mouthed wimps. I think you can sleep better if you fight for what you believe in."

The performance of San Francisco pupils on achievement tests has improved so rapidly (reading scores of third-graders at one school rose nearly ten percentage points in one year) that the state education department conducted a secret check in 1978 to make sure everything was on the up and up; it was. As a result, about 1,000 private school students return to the public schools each year. In 1982 Mayor Dianne Feinstein showed her confidence in Alioto by giving $4 million of the city's surplus funds to the schools.

Anthony Alvarado, 41, was appointed chancellor of New York City schools last spring after working educational magic as superintendent of East Harlem's District Four, an area where rubble spills out of abandoned buildings and youths loiter in empty lots. When Alvarado, son of Puerto Rican immigrants, was assigned to District Four in 1973, it ranked dead last among the city's 32 districts on reading test scores: only 18.5% of students read at grade level or above. Last year the district ranked 15th in the city, and 48.5% of its students were up to par in reading. Alvarado's success was due in part to his ability to attract bright and dedicated teachers and his willingness to take risks with new programs. Says Alvarado: "My view has always been that you increase expectations and you support students at the same time."

Some of the schools trying the hardest are those with the worst problems. About 30% of the students at Edison High School in Miami's riot-scarred Liberty City are Creole-speaking Haitians; another 14% are students, predominantly Hispanic, who are learning English as a second language. Principal Craig Sturgeon believes that discipline is essential for learning. "We make our expectations and the punishment clear," he says. "When people are late, they are taken to the cafe-

Moment of solitude for a student in Virginia Beach, Va.: a growing alienation between youth and an aging population?

Fifth-graders with calculators at the ready in an Albuquerque math class

An S.R.O. crowd at a PTA "get-acquainted night" in Princeton, N.J.

teria to work on their basic skills. The second time it happens, we contact the parents, and the third time, they are forced to do work around the school." The percentage of Edison's students who passed language assessment tests went up from 54% in 1981 to 83% in 1983. This fall the school is starting a special program in solving word, math and logic problems.

In Boston, Superintendent Robert Spillane is improving one of the nation's most racially torn school systems. An apt symbol is South Boston High School, where whites clashed with blacks in the mid-'70s. Today Southie is a well-balanced school with a population of 856 students that is 43% black, 34% white, 11% Asian and 12% Hispanic. In 1976 Headmaster Jerome Winegar began an in-school suspension program: students who get into trouble are assigned special help under a supervising teacher instead of being tossed out. Since the program's inception, three-day suspensions have dropped from 1,660 to 83 last year.

Southie is also the only district school that requires all ninth-graders to study a foreign language. In addition to a mandatory English course, ninth- and tenth-graders must take a reading and writing workshop that continues in the eleventh and twelfth grades if the student does not do well. Daily attendance rates have risen 14% in the past year. Says Winegar: "You don't change a school with programs. You change a school with philosophy. We want to help young people battle their way into the mainstream."

In Benton Harbor, Mich., the adult unemployment rate is 32%, more than half of the city's 14,000 residents are on some form of welfare, and 77% of the 8,900 public school students are either black or Hispanic. Most of the town's central business district is boarded up. Benton Harbor's students had scored 40% below the statewide average for the past five years. Two years ago, with solid support in the community, Superintendent James Hawkins began a program that requires every student to master basic minimal skills be-

fore being promoted to the next grade.

Hawkins is willing to hold back even kindergarteners unless they can meet certain standards: they should be able to follow simple verbal directions, know at least ten letters of the alphabet, write numbers up to ten as well as their first name, and recite a four-line nursery rhyme. Results of the reforms: scores on the California Achievement Test have gone up 13% for first-graders and 24% for second-graders, but 15% of first- and second-graders have been kept back. Hawkins is unapologetic. Says he: "Retention is not necessarily destructive to self-image. If you really want to see trauma, go to a high school and see a twelfth-grader reading at fourth-grade level. That's trauma."

Another approach to higher standards favored by Alvarado and other reformers is the establishment within a district of a so-called magnet school, featuring specialized programs in the sciences, arts or humanities along with a core curriculum. Its purpose: to achieve integration by creating an inner-city school with an irresistible claim to academic excellence. Waller High School in Chicago, once a mere holding pen, was transformed by District Superintendent Margaret Harrigan into Lincoln Park High. It has a school of science with a college-level course in biochemistry, a school of languages that offers French, German, Italian and Spanish, and a school of arts that offers everything from the Stanislavsky acting method to Baroque music.

About 95% of the students at Waller were black; enrollment at Lincoln Park is 56% black. This year 200 applied for the 30 places in Lincoln Park's International Baccalaureate program, an academically demanding two-year curriculum, and students who scored in the 97th percentile on the entrance exam were turned away. Says Stephen Ballis, an insurance executive and neighborhood parent: "This used to be a half-filled building, isolated from the community. Now it's overcrowded. Excellence and expectations of excellence are contagious."

Teaching: Needs Improvement

The most ambitious plans for longer school days, more demanding courses and higher standards are meaningless without teachers who can make school worth attending. The cold truth is that the kind of inspired teachers who can transform an English class at Lincoln Park High or a kindergarten in Benton Harbor are in woefully short supply. Warns John Goodlad, former dean of the U.C.L.A. graduate school of education and author of *A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future:* "The proposed curricular changes, if not accompanied by substantial improvements in pedagogy, could increase the high school dropout rate."

More than 60% of Houston public school teachers taking a competency exam last spring failed. The example is not surprising. Nationwide, education majors tend to come from the lowest strata of students: last year they scored 32 points below the national average on the verbal portion of the SAT test and 48 points lower on the mathematics section. Says James Guthrie, former chairman of the department of education at the University of California at Berkeley: "In the past, the quality of American education was maintained by women and minorities. Now these people can do other things."

The lack of talented and trained teachers is especially critical for math and science. Only 50% of such teachers are qualified in their subjects; most have been recycled from other areas. The undergraduates who excel at math or physics are smart enough to know that they can make considerably more money in industry than in teaching. From 1971 to 1980, the number of math teachers dropped 78% nationwide. Massachusetts universities produced only two graduates last June certified to teach chemistry on the high school level and only two who could teach physics. Berkeley, the proud flagship of the California system, did not graduate a single one.

Some 33 states have passed, or are considering, incentive programs to attract students and qualified teachers to science labs and math classrooms. In Kentucky, 95 students last year received up to $2,500 toward their college costs; if they spend one year as math or science teachers in a Kentucky public school, one year of their loan will be canceled. At least half a dozen states are reconsidering their certification procedures to emphasize knowledge of subject matter over teaching methodology. Such changes could open the teaching field, largely dominated by education majors, to graduates with liberal arts degrees.

North Carolina teacher studies to advance

The profession needs to restore self-respect.

Still, teachers' hours remain long (at least for the conscientious), working conditions are often poor, and the pay is terrible. While the average teacher's salary is just over $20,000, that figure reflects the pay of a corps of veterans. The average salary for beginning teachers with a B.A. is $12,769, about $4,200 less than a fledgling accountant can make. Even worse, after 15 years the accountant will probably be making between $40,000 and $50,000, while the teacher will be earning less than $25,000. A Carnegie Foundation report last month concluded that teachers' salaries declined 12.2% between 1972 and 1982, when inflation was factored in, while total personal income increased by 17.8% in real dollars during the same period. Reason enough for sporadic strikes. Chicago teachers, for instance, may go out this week.

To improve the situation, Reagan and Mondale, among others, have recommended some form of merit pay for good teachers. However, teachers' unions—the American Federation of Teachers (580,000 members) and the National Education Association (1.7 million members)—have traditionally opposed merit pay, out of suspicion that bonuses would be given out unfairly and would cut into general pay raises for entire faculties.

As interest in merit pay has increased, both the A.F.T. and, more reluctantly, the N.E.A. have agreed at least to consider the proposal, provided that some mechanism can be worked out to make sure the selection process is fair. A study conducted this summer by the *American School Board Journal* found that nearly two out of three teachers support the concept of merit pay. Seven states now have some form of it in one or more local school systems, nine more are considering specific legislation, and 29 are studying the idea. But the jury is still out on the potential impact. In Los Angeles, 200 of the city's 25,000 teachers last year were awarded $1,008 extra for superior performances and extra work; the program is generally well received by the teaching staff. It has also worked for more than 30 years in the Ladue School District of suburban St. Louis, and more than 20 years in Dalton, Ga. Darien, Conn., however, halted its three-year experiment in merit pay because the paperwork involved had become a bureaucratic nightmare.

The Dallas school system has just started a trial year with what may be the nation's first computerized merit-pay plan. Says the district's Director of Employee Relations Robby Collins: "Once you have human beings evaluating other human beings, the systems produce jealousies, morale problems. The beauty of our system is that it's done totally by computer." Each school will receive projections on how students should score on national achievement tests, based on the past three years' performances. In schools that outperform the computer projections, every teacher will pocket an extra $1,500.

An extra 1,500 bucks will not revitalize a profession, though. More important than better pay, say disgruntled teachers,

is the need to improve the prestige and power of the job, to restore its practitioners' self-respect. Says A.F.T. President Albert Shanker: "We give people poor salaries, then we lock them in a room with a bunch of kids and instead of letting them teach a subject they know—Shakespeare or math—we have them doing everything else, teaching 'Living,' 'Loving,' 'Life Adjustment.' " Maintains San Francisco School District Administrator Carlos Cornejo: "We don't give teachers the recognition they need. We have them teaching in leaky rooms and supervising the boys' john in between classes. We're going to have trouble until we make teaching a profession again."

There is one reform that could go a long way toward revitalizing the profession of teaching. It would provide something that does not now exist in most school systems: a career ladder that offers opportunities for advancement. Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander's "master teacher" plan, which has yet to pass the state legislature, would provide more money ($115 million a year) and four career steps: apprentice, professional teacher, senior teacher and master teacher. Movement through the four stages would give teachers more pay for more responsibility. Those at the top could earn as much as 60% more than the base salary. The A.F.T.'s Shanker, for one, endorses the idea.

Charlotte-Mecklenburg, N.C., boasts another intriguing teacher-development program. With the help of his faculty, Superintendent Jay Robinson is now working out a career plan that would identify 26 qualities an instructor should exhibit. Teachers would receive extensive training through a center that already houses a library of curriculum materials and sets up workshops to sharpen skills. Favorable evaluations would lead to pay bonuses as teachers advanced up a three-step career ladder to tenured status. Says Robinson: "Merit-pay plans attempt to identify excellence and reward it. Our plan's emphasis is on creating great teachers through training them and then putting them on a career salary schedule."

Higher education is beginning to take

BILL PIERCE

A New Jersey teacher catching up on the computer culture

The CRT Before the Horse

Teachers want them. Parents insist on them. Business requires them. And children are drawn to them like electrons to a cathode-ray tube. Of all the remedies prescribed for the ailing schools, none has generated more excitement than the call for large numbers of desktop computers. This fall 86% of all high schools, 77% of all junior highs and 61% of all grade schools have at least one machine, according to Market Data Retrieval Inc., a Connecticut research firm. But the rush to hardware looks very much like a nationwide case of putting the CRT before the horse. No one has stopped to resolve the basic issue, says David Moursund, professor of computer science at the University of Oregon: "what and how much students should learn about computers."

Many computers are used as high-tech flash cards in math and spelling. Scorning such applications, computer scientists argue that students should be "computer literate," and then argue among themselves about what that means. Berkeley Computer Educator Arthur Luehrmann, who coined the term, has defined it as "the ability to *do* computing and not merely to recognize, identify or be aware of alleged facts about computing." M.I.T. Professor Seymour Papert, author of the influential book *Mindstorms: Children, Computers and Powerful Ideas*, agrees, insisting that all children should be taught to program computers, both for the intellectual exercise and for the experience of mastering a piece of modern technology.

Not at all, say other experts. They maintain that it is a waste of time to teach programming, because future computers will likely be fed their instructions in completely different ways. What is more, insists Karen Sheingold, director of the Center for Children and Technology at Manhattan's Bank Street College of Education, "the transfer of computer training to other areas is not necessarily automatic." One study of sixth-grade programmers from Cambridge, Mass., tends to bear Sheingold out: while 69% could instruct a computer to draw a 90° angle, only 19% could actually construct one on paper.

For this reason, a newer chorus of experts says, computers should be employed neither as automated tutors to deliver the content of standard courses nor as tools to train junior programmers, but as resources to enrich the curriculum. "One of the best uses of computers for high school students would be to help teach kids to write," says Henry Becker, director of an ongoing Johns Hopkins classroom-technology study. But Becker estimates that high school computers are being used for word processing less than 7% of the time.

To Norman Kurland, director of adult learning services at the New York City department of education, "The real challenge is teaching students how to find information and how to use it to solve problems." Says Marc Tucker, director of the Carnegie Corporation's project on information technology and education: "What a marvelous thing it would be if kids and teachers could use computers to answer a whole bunch of 'what if' questions: What if the Black Death had spread half as fast? What if there had been a quarter as much money in circulation in 1475? What if the climate had been 10° colder as the Euphrates was turning into desert?"

There is another what if. What if all the students who could use a computer got access to one? An estimated 250,000 computers are now distributed among 44 million students. To reach what M.I.T.'s Papert calls the "threshold of seriousness"—one half hour of computer use a day per child—would require at least another 3 million machines. Estimated cost: $4.5 billion. And if sufficient equipment were made available, the schools would still face a costlier problem: teacher training. As a rule of thumb, each dollar spent on computers requires two more dollars to teach the teachers how to use them. "If you don't change the preparation of the teachers," says Tucker, "putting a lot of computers into our schools would be an appalling waste of money."

Considering the philosophical, pedagogical and financial problems ahead, the supposed computer revolution in schools seems barely under way. "What you have now," says Alan Kay, chief scientist at Atari, "is a bunch of people attempting to teach violin who have had a six-week course in what the violin is and who have never heard violin music before."

some responsibility for the improvement of public school teaching. One such program is the Yale–New Haven Teachers Institute. Each semester eight senior Yale professors conduct seminars with 80 city teachers on such topics as Greek and Roman mythology and the elements of architecture. In addition, the teacher "fellows" become part of the Yale community, with privileges ranging from parking to library use. Says junior high Math Teacher Sheryl DeCaprio: "It sort of makes you feel professional again."

Colleges and universities are also trying to send more talent the way of the public schools. Faith Dunne, head of Dartmouth's education department, has helped put together a 15-member Consortium for Excellence in Teacher Education, made up of 15 top private colleges that will use exchange programs to pool resources and attract able students. Says Dunne: "I think we could have better teachers if we got to the point where influential professors would stop discouraging their students from going into elementary and secondary school education."

Dunne has found one unexplained source of opposition: the parents of some students she has encouraged to become teachers. Asks Dunne angrily: "Why is it that people will go from suburb to suburb refusing to buy a house until they figure out where the best schools are, and at the same time forbid their children to become teachers?"

Harvard's Graduate School of Education started an elite program this fall to help professionals switch to teaching in mid-career. One of the seven "students" in the pilot program is Jim Selman, 59. With his children through college and his mortgage paid off, Selman is quitting his $50,000-a-year job as an electrical engineer at Mitre Corp. Mitre is paying Selman's $8,320 tuition. When he finishes the program, which includes 14 weeks of student teaching, Selman will be accredited to teach science and math in Massachusetts schools, and he is looking forward to being "able to effect a permanent change in a student's intellect or attitude."

Funding: More Required

Behind all the plans for reform is a fundamental but unanswered question: Who will pay? Traditionally, America's public schools were financed primarily by local property taxes. A surge of court decisions in the 1970s found that such funding had fostered great inequalities between wealthy and poor local districts. School funding became more of a state matter. Today, on average, states provide 50% of the money for community public schools and local taxes 42%, while the Federal Government contributes only about 8%. As Dade County Assistant Superintendent Paul Bell has observed: "We have had a major shift of control from the local level to the state board of education, with the legislature acting as a superboard."

State legislatures, hit hard by the recent recession, have tried to hold down taxes and, with them, school funding. But a few states have been able to buck the trend and raise taxes to fund education reforms. When the Florida legislature turned down his costly reform program this spring, Governor Graham countered with proposals for taxes on liquor and corporate profits earned abroad. By late June, when legislators reconvened for a special session, Graham showed that he could raise an extra $100 million to lengthen the school day, increase teacher pay by 5% to 7% and purchase new science equipment.

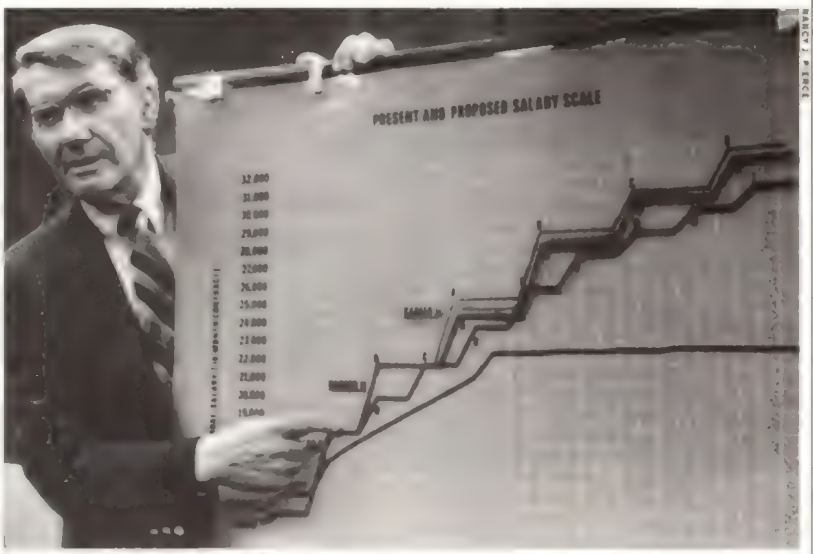
One of the nation's most ardent advocates of reform, California's new Superintendent of Public Instruction William Honig, has conquered the land of Proposition 13. Last November Honig, a former elementary school teacher, beat the incumbent and popular superintendent by hitting again and again on the need for homework, discipline, high standards. California had ranked among the top three states in the nation on school spending per pupil until the mid-1960s. It dropped to 17th place in 1969, and after Proposition 13, to 31st place in 1981-82. And a marked decline in California education performance accompanied the decline in funding.

Soon after his election, Honig asked Sacramento legislators to toughen high school graduation requirements, raise beginning salaries for teachers to $18,000, make loans for teacher training, and fund master teacher programs. Cost: $800 million. Governor George Deukmejian, who had won office on a promise of fiscal austerity, balked. But a public opinion poll indicated that Californians by a 2-to-1 majority would support increased taxes to improve public schools.

Honig immediately started a campaign that rivaled his bid for office. In one day in July, he held press conferences in three different cities. Then he talked to the California Round Table, a group of 88 chief executive officers already concerned about educational reform. The Governor began to get letters. "Dear George," wrote J.R. Fluor, head of a multibillion-dollar engineering and construction firm, "I am urging you to reconsider the position you took during your campaign—a position which we all admired at the time—and relent just a bit so that sufficient revenues can be raised to ensure the reform and then the financial support so necessary to improve the quality of education here in California." Deukmejian relented, and the bill passed this summer.

Across the country, the business community is acknowledging a responsibility and stepping in to help. Corporations are "adopting" schools, providing everything from laboratory equipment to volunteer instructors. In Chicago, 176 firms have established links with 600 schools; in Los Angeles, the figures are 189 and 225. Seven of Atlanta's largest banks, as well as the local Federal Reserve branch, have collaborated in establishing the city's newest magnet school, Harper High. The banks provide not only money but their own employees for financial courses and internships for interested students. Such programs have a variety of benefits. Memphis Schools Superintendent W.W. Herenton believes that business involvement in his area has been partly responsible for the return of 1,400 white students from private schools in the past two years.

Another new source of funding is a variation on the old parent bake sale. Citizens are banding together into public school foundations to raise extra money. In California, at least 60 such organizations sponsor phonathons and benefit events to finance important extras, including theater arts, special math programs, remedial reading classes and even computers. In Washington, D.C., the Parent Group Fund taps local and congres-



Charlotte-Mecklenburg, N.C., Superintendent Robinson proposes teacher pay raises

Career ladders, master status and, of course, more money.

sional donors to fund field trips and special tutoring for public school children. Early this year, the Ford Foundation set up the Pittsburgh-based Public Education Fund, which will help start up some 40 local education foundations across the nation in the next five years.

Community Support: Growing

The great fear of educators like Carnegie's Boyer is that the current enthusiasm for school reform will not endure in the face of rising costs and slow progress. It has happened before. After the Soviets launched Sputnik in 1957, the nation underwent a similar convulsion of reforming zeal as schools geared up to beat the Russians. The ardor cooled after the success of U.S. space explorations made it seem that America was first once more.

Just as the Sputnik reforms were waning, the nation was also subjected to a decade of social turbulence. The civil rights movement raised issues of equal opportunity, and the Viet Nam War shook faith in American institutions. The public schools were directly affected: by busing, by a decline in discipline, by the drive for equity. Says Christopher Jencks: "In the late '60s and early '70s, there was a collapse of consensus about what was worth teaching and what was worth learning." In addition, with many of the functions formerly assigned to home, community or church also breaking down, schools suddenly had to advise students on love, divorce and drugs. The Federal Government further complicated the schools' role by demanding that those who could not speak English be instructed in their native languages, that the disadvantaged be given free lunch at school, and that the handicapped be accommodated in all classrooms.

Some of the duties taken on by the schools were positive, notably much of the new egalitarianism. Diane Ravitch of Columbia University, who chronicles the postwar history of school-reform movements in a new book, *The Troubled Crusade*, says, "The challenge is to turn [that egalitarianism] into a commitment to educate all children and to educate them very well. We must watch in our passion for excellence that it doesn't bear only on the elite, that it means we are going to have a school system that works for everyone and not just 'the winners.' "

There are forces today, however, that may impede public school reform in the near future. The U.S. is an aging nation with fewer children and a population that may be less eager to increase taxes in support of schools. Warns Carnegie's Boyer: "In many ways, we're addressing not just a school problem, but a youth problem. We have a generation of young people who feel essentially unattached, who are genuinely adrift." The alienation between the young and the old, he adds, could intensify over how tax moneys should be used. Furthermore, with a declining white birth rate, minorities could make up one-third of public school enrollments by 1990 (they are already 27% today). If, as a result, public schools are perceived as institutions for the underprivileged, middle-class support may diminish even more.

The driving force behind much of the current revolution is the desire for economic revival. What will happen ten years from now if the results are spotty? Theodore Sizer worries about present motivations: "The rhetoric of toughness is so predominant today. There isn't the idealism and compassion that has been behind significant school reform in the past."

California School Chief Honig spends some time in the classroom

"There is no one secret answer to turn our schools around."

In short, Americans still need a larger vision of their schools' educational mission. Says Ravitch: "We went through a period of ethnic revivalism and separatism, and it may be that we are now ready to go beyond that to think about our common needs as people and as Americans, our needs as a community."

Virginia Beach, Va. (pop. 262,000), has already tried to work out its goals for the future and how to gain them. The school board in this tidewater city near Norfolk has spent two years and $250,000 to develop a 21st century reform plan that recommends 138 changes in the present school system. Phase 1 began a month ago when classes resumed, and included such currently celebrated reforms as longer days and stronger basics. But Virginia Beach will go much further. Students will be encouraged to take harder courses by a new grading system that will assign added weight to an A in an upper-level course. Phase 2, to begin this year, will call for innovative teacher training and in some cases retraining, so that as competence improves, a teacher's higher expectations will inspire student performance. Visiting scholars will be invited to address both students and teachers. Says School Superintendent Ed Brickell: "It was time to stop operating piecemeal, patching here, adding on there; it was time to redesign our entire system."

Although the Virginia Beach plan could cost taxpayers as much as $14 million during the next few years, the community is behind Brickell. When the city manager cut $5 million from the school budget two years ago, 30,000 citizens signed petitions opposing the cut; hundreds came to a public hearing to praise the school system and attack the city manager.

"Revolutions happen not suddenly but after a long accumulation of grievances and awareness of defects," says Philosopher Mortimer Adler, who is optimistic that the reforms will continue. "This is the first time that the central matter is being discussed: teaching and learning. Not civil rights or free lunches or girls *vs.* boys."

If state legislatures, public forums and PTA meetings are any indicators, Americans seem to be reaffirming a strong commitment to education. A Gallup poll shows that 84% of Americans believe that a superior educational system is "very important" to the nation, while only 47% believe that a strong military force is as important. "There is now considerable resolve to see reform through to the end," says Chester Finn, a professor of education and public policy at Vanderbilt University. Yet he warns, "These changes will take some years, and when they happen they will be characteristically American, which is to say, uneven and sporadic."

After watching the past year's crescendo of public concern, Ruth Love, superintendent of Chicago's rallying system, says, "Whenever we get in trouble as a nation, we always turn to education, and those of us in education must seize this opportunity—it won't be here always." California's Honig agrees that educators must make the most of this golden moment. But he notes, "There is no one secret answer to turn our schools around. It takes the commitment of thousands and thousands of people, people who are committed to kids and education and good human values." Those people appear to be rallying.

—By Ellie McGrath. Reported by Dorothy Fernbaugh/New York, J. Madeleine Nash/Chicago and Dick Thompson/San Francisco

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Frankly, he doesn't really care much that Eagle switches back into 2-wheel drive for excellent gas mileage* (Some day he'll appreciate the value of a dollar!) But it's something that meant a lot to us.

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*(24) EPA EST MPG, 30 HWY EST. 4-cylinder/4-speed. Use these figures for comparison. Your results may differ due to driving speed, weather conditions and trip length. Actual highway figures are probably lower.

PRIVATE COLLECTION, N.Y.

Motherwell's *Figure in Black*, 1947

MR. & MRS. BAGLEY WRIGHT

Meanings in the blue: *The French Line*, 1960

PRIVATE COLLECTION, N.Y.

Art

Master of Anxiety and Balance

In Buffalo, the magisterial abstractions of Robert Motherwell

One does not usually think of art shows in terms of seasons, but the Robert Motherwell retrospective that opened last week at the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo is certainly autumnal: a life's work fully matured, all its lights, smokes and fermentations distinct, its promises ripely fulfilled. The show, organized by Curator Douglas G. Schultz, is not a huge affair in proportion to the size of Motherwell's output. There are, in all, 93 paintings and collages to represent a man whose *oeuvre* must be ten or even 20 times that size.

Motherwell is 68, the youngest member of the group whose name he coined: the New York School, or, as the history books say, the abstract expressionists. Pollock, Rothko, Still, Newman, Baziotes, Gorky, Smith and Kline are all dead; only Willem de Kooning, Lee Krasner and Motherwell are still at work. In the meantime the achievements of the abstract expressionists have become so encased in legend, fetishized by the market and picked over by scholarship that their work, in the eyes of younger generations, has assumed a somewhat fabled air. Like grizzled bison in a diorama, they suggest a lost age of American pioneering. The sheer weight of the cultural appetites their work helped set in motion has turned them into monuments against their will.

This process has proved particularly unfair to Motherwell, because his full maturity as an artist came after the abstract expressionist "period"—in fact, after 1960—and his career illustrates the perils of generalizing about decades, groups or movements. Of course there are expressionist elements in Motherwell, and strong ones at that. But the rhythm of this show obliges one to discard the hearty cliché of the abstract expressionist as a kind of existential romantic, flinging pots of paint in the eyes of fate.

What we see is not what legend tells us to see. For Motherwell is a painter of superb though admittedly fitful balance who has managed to raise a magisterial syntax of form over an undrainable pond of anxiety, and the apparent fluctuation of his art between the "expressive" and the "classical" really depends on how much of that water is showing around its foundations. He is not a great sublimator, like Matisse or Braque. Yet in its breadth, grace, discipline and lucidity, as in the standards of self-criticism that are embedded in its patrician rhetoric, his art is genuinely Apollonian. Even its disorder speaks of a nostalgia for order.

That such traits are strengths seems obvious today, amid the lax and clamorous egotism of most neo-expressionist painting. But it was not always so. Twenty years ago, Motherwell's reflective temper, his unabashed reverence for the Parisian past and, above all, his wish to bring modernist writing from Mallarmé to Joyce into the ambit of his art made critics uneasy. Surely this was all a trifle historicist, a bit too stylish?

Motherwell never dissembled about his sources. Not only was a sign for the human body like *Figure in Black*, 1947, with its mask's eyes staring from the bent trapezoid of a head, clearly derived from Picasso, but Motherwell would also write more knowledgeably about Picasso than most of his contemporaries, critics included. If the rectangular opening that kept appearing, as a promise of space beyond the picture plane, in painting after painting from the early '40s to the *Open* series of the late '60s and early '70s derived its authority from Matisse's *Blue Window* or *View of Notre Dame*, Motherwell would be the last to deny it: he was preoccupied with continuity and saw modernism as a tradition.

He meant to claim the same kind of filial attachment to Matisse that Delacroix (another household god) had to Rubens. To those whose idea of modernism was modeled on Oedipal battle, that was not enough. Hence the feeling, not yet dis-

Unglueckliche Liebe, 1974, left, and *Riverrun*, 1972: tearing as drawing, color as character

M. KNOEDLER & CO. N.Y.

COLLECTION OF THE ARTIST

In Memoriam: the Wittenborn Collage, 1975

ALBRIGHT-KNOX GALLERY, BUFFALO, N.Y.

Elegy to the Spanish Republic No. 34, 1953-54: among the funereal images, black is a hue

pelled in all quarters of the art world, that Motherwell was too French, too fluent, not hard enough on himself or his viewers. Unlike such Nietzschean contemporaries as Pollock and Still, he was (dreaded word!) "elegant," and the fact that the blackness, raggedness and restrained violence of many of his paintings invoked the tragic only made matters worse.

Today these objections sound like dated cavils. All art is fiction, and the more complex the fiction the better the art is apt to be. Motherwell's elegance is not a matter of style. It comes from deeper wells: mainly from his highly critical and intelligent sense of the accumulated language of modernism and of how his own pictorial impulses relate to that language. It is the elegance of realized thought.

One needs to be fairly naive these days to believe that artists can literally function as shamans or magicians. Certainly Motherwell does not think so. But he fervently believes in the efficacy of signs, the ability of quite simple configurations to carry and release powerful associative cargo. The blue triangle of paint above the ocher and earth-red bars of *Summertime in Italy, No. 28*, 1962, offers all the sense of being in a landscape: light and wind stream from the blue, heat radiates from the brown. Motherwell's *Elegies to the Spanish Republic*, a lengthy series that lasted some 30 years and ended after the death of Franco and the restoration of parliamentary democracy in Spain, are best seen as an American pendant to Picasso's *Guernica*, though with different imagery. Black in the hands of some painters—a Manet, a Goya, a Matisse—is a color, not an absence of light; and *el negro Motherwell*, as the Spanish poet Rafael Alberti called it, sometimes acquires a walloping chromatic power.

The basic shapes that make up the *Elegies*, held between bars or strung like meat on a skewer across the canvas, could hardly be simpler: black ovals or ragged beam-shaped forms that bear a resemblance to bullfighters' hats, black frames that evoke the deep shadow of doors in light-struck village walls. But out of these signs Motherwell has fashioned a resonant and funereal sequence of images that, despite its repetitions (when in doubt, paint an *Elegy*), is one of the few sustained tragic utterances in post-Picassoan art. He has always been faithful to the abstract expressionist dictum (which he helped formulate) that subject matter is crucial.

The colors of *Elegies* are, as he put it, "an equivalence of the ferocity of the whole encounter." This is perhaps what Mallarmé refers to in his famous phrase about describing not the object itself but the effect it produces. To speak of "Motherwell black" or "Motherwell blue" is not to identify a particular hue—there are many blacks in his work and a near infinite range of blues, from creamy cerulean to wine-dark—but rather to evoke the way these colors work, as stable characters in a plot of sensation.

This is especially true of the *Open* paintings, which consist of broad fields of color whose only additional feature is an incomplete rectangle or trapezoid, formed by three or four lines of charcoal or black paint, that seems to give access to a field behind the field. This enclosure may be strict-edged or fuzzily tremulous, but it always conveys the impression of architectural form—a window or a door, a passage from inside to outside. A painting like *Summer Open with Mediterranean Blue*, 1974, creates a strikingly concise yet opulent impression of landscape by these pared means. The passages of tone in the paint, the variations of blue depth, drench the eye in sea light without offering a glimpse of horizon; it is as though a part of nature had been taken down to its barest essence—discarding the thing but leaving the nuances—and then contrasted with an equally reduced emblem of culture: three lines, the platonic ghost of a building, humanizing the blue and saving the eye from getting lost in it.

But Motherwell's color is never descriptive. Even the more recent arrivals on his palette, like the soft greens and grayed browns of "Irish" paintings like *Riverrun*, 1972, an homage to Joyce's meditations on Dublin's river, the Liffey, soon acquire this

HANS NAMUTH

The artist in his studio

fixed quality. Color in Motherwell is not an adjective, but a noun.

It is the collages that most clearly represent the "French" aspect of his work. He put this explicitly in the title of an early one, *The French Line*, 1960. Its main element is the top of a diet-toast package torn and shaded into a shape vaguely suggestive of a liner at sea seen bow-on. Its stripes suggest deck chairs and awnings, and they convey one into the atmosphere of luxury and fine-tuned bodies that was part of the fantasy raised by the S.S. *France*, and first-class ocean travel in general, two decades ago. The diet wafers, the label tells us, are "the faithful friends of your *ligne*"—a word that means figure, but also shipping line and, of course, line, as in drawing. This elegant triple-entendre is meant to be read as a pledge of Parisian allegiance.

Motherwell has never used collage as a means of surrealist shock treatment. His work sits squarely in the formal tradition of early Braque, not in the poetic irrationality of Ernst. But its play between form and meaning is no accident. The "found" element in *Ungluecklich Liebe* (Unhappy Love), 1974, is a fragment of sheet music whose words apostrophize the miseries of passion: "Begone, begone, ye children of Melancholy!" But set on its dark ground, with a rectangle of slaty blue and a marvelous, soaring shape of white paper—Mallarmé's swan, making a personal appearance—its stilted sentiment turns into a concise image of sorrow and relief.

Motherwell's collages amount to a definition of their medium. It is the nature of glued paper to look flat, frontal and spreading; to build its image in planes; to set up counterpoints between word and shape; to make one focus on texture and edge. In pieces like *In Memoriam: the Wittenborn Collage*, 1975, Motherwell draws by tearing, and the implied violence of the torn edge (which looks and feels very different from the clean-cut edges of Braque's newsprint or Matisse's scissored paper) plays, in collage, the same role as the ejaculatory splattering of paint in his paintings. It is chance, fixed: no one can say how a piece of paper will go when it is torn. This combination of violence and reflection, along with the easel size of the images, is Motherwell's basic addition to the art of collage. In making it, he became the only artist since Matisse in the '50s to alter significantly the syntax of this quintessentially modernist medium.

His collage is social encounter; it uses the flotsam of everyday life—cigarette packets, labels, brown paper—to pass us through abstraction and back to common experience. His painting is natural or mythic encounter; one traverses its condensations and gestures to arrive, on the other side, among the ochers of Italy and California, the blues of Nice and Provincetown. In moving between these two poles, Motherwell has become for some people the greatest abstract painter alive, and for others not an abstract artist at all.

—By Robert Hughes

Dance

Minimalists 3

The avant-garde steps back

The stage is thrust up from the floor and split into two unequal planes. Enter eleven dancers clad in black, red or white pajamas, their costumes slit wide to flash inner forearms and thighs. Slowly they start to spin, hop and shuffle in smooth synchronicity. Out of huge loudspeakers suspended from the ceiling comes the foghorn blast of a low note—like the opening of Strauss's *Also sprach Zarathustra*—played by a synthesizer; later the music rises in a blast of brass to a Brucknerian apotheosis.

Such are the arresting components of *Available Light*, a 55-minute collaboration of three prominent minimalists that premiered last week in Los Angeles. Created by Choreographer Lucinda Childs, Composer John Adams and Architect Frank O. Gehry, *Available Light* is less a milestone than a signpost. Today's avant-garde has had to circle back on its forebears: the same impulse that gave rise earlier in this century to atonal music and flamboyant attitudes in dance now deals in the certainties of plotless movement and assertive major triads.

Just how far the pendulum has swung is evident in *Available Light*, which travels to the Brooklyn Academy of Music later this month. Childs, who collaborated earlier with fellow avant-gardists such as Composer Philip Glass and Theater Artist Robert Wilson, is a cool rationalist who favors organizational clarity over overt emotionalism. The repeating patterns that ripple through her dances are imitated and finally dispersed like waves spreading across a pond. There are no kicks, leaps or pronounced extension. Childs' dynamic level rarely rises above a whispered pianissimo.

Both Gehry and Adams have a surer sense of drama. The architect's installation, in a converted downtown warehouse, is strongly articulated by his fondness for raw wood surfaces and chain-link fencing. The precariousness of the dancers' position—the lower and larger of the two stages reaches second-story height—emphasizes the fragility and remoteness of Childs' work. The audience is perched even higher, on bleachers, and peers down at the action onstage.

The most impressive element is Adams' score, a synthesized 24-track tape whose only "live" sounds are the brass near the end. Bearing the independent title *Light over Water*, the music is cast in six mostly continuous movements. The piece reaches a new level of complexity for a minimalist work, moving away from the school's strict repetition and steady-rhythm tenets toward something more expansive and formally flexible.

Striking though the individual elements are, they do not always mesh. Although Childs says her dance is closely allied with Adams' music, too often the two clash: the sounds urgent, the movements passive. Further, visual minimalism palls more quickly than its aural counterpart, and beside Adams' expanded vocabulary, Childs' monochromaticism looks dated. By definition, being a member of the avant-garde means always being in motion, like running up a down escalator: if you are not actively moving forward, you are surely moving backward.

—By Michael Walsh

NATHANIEL TILESTON

Choreographer Childs: clarity over emotion

BEN MARTIN

***Available Light* is performed on a two-level stage in a converted Los Angeles warehouse**

A score that moves away from strict repetition to a broader level of complexity.